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CHANGING AMERICA

CHANGING AMERICA

STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

BY

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PREFACE

The average man's mental picture of his society is at least two or three decades out of date, so that half the time he is fighting windmills instead of grappling with the enemies that rise in his path. In this book I aim to bring the picture nearer to reality by describing certain contemporary social developments. This is, to be sure, a hazardous undertaking and very likely I have misread some of the tendencies I perceive. The interpreter of the present ventures oftener on slippery places than the interpreter of the past; but then he may be more useful.

For it is only *living* tendencies that man can work with, curb, or guide.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.

FOREWORD

"Women in Industry" is the stenographic report of an address given in 1909. "Commercialism Rampant" is an address prepared in 1908. Since then the situation has decidedly improved, especially the attitude of the church toward commercial evils, but I have thought it best to print it in its original form. To the publishers of *Everybody's Magazine* I am indebted for permission to republish "The Outlook for Plain Folk"; to the publishers of *Hearst's Magazine* for permission to print "The World-Wide Advance of Democracy"; and to the publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly* for permission to reproduce "The Suppression of Important News." "The Significance of Increasing Divorce" and the "Middle West" series have appeared in *The Century*.

E. A. R.

CHANGING AMERICA

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I

THE OUTLOOK FOR PLAIN FOLK

THE movement toward democracy is world-wide and tidal. It has gone on for a century and a quarter, and invaded every home of white men. Even seventy-odd years ago Sydney Smith could liken its opponents to Dame Partington trying to sweep back the Atlantic with a broom. It may be dammed for a decade; for a lifetime, never. Universal suffrage, confesses a critic, "has the majesty of doom." Race is no barrier to it. Yesterday it was English, or Danes, or Germans that made the great stride forward. To-day it is Japanese, Persians, Turks. To-morrow it may be Hindoos, or Chinese, or Burmans. Even the "changeless East" thrills with the electric impulse, and presently for a sample of "Oriental" government we shall need to look to Zanzibar or Borneo.

Universal and irresistible as it is, this rise of the peoples is no mysterious fiat of Destiny. It

is the outworking of certain causes. The causes being there, the thing had to come. We look for the democratic trend to continue, only because the forces that have made for democracy persist, and are being aided by new forces. To be sure, we can see only to the crest of the next ridge. Is there a Valley of Shadow beyond? Who knows? The conjunctions of to-morrow may conspire to bring on an eclipse of the common man. But the future of the undistinguished many, *so far as we can peer into it,* is brighter than the past.

Socially, democracy insists that the grading of folks on the basis of birth or rank or calling or cash is coarse and barbaric. It does not deny that men are as gold, silver, and copper in relative worth. But it wants men rated, not by place or trappings, but by essential things — wisdom, character, efficiency. The application of these standards always humbles the exalted few, and gives more dignity and consideration to the busy people who make the world go round.

Politically, democracy means the sovereignty, not of the average man — who is a rather narrow, short-sighted, muddle-headed creature — but of a matured public opinion, a very different thing. "One man, one vote" does not make

Sambo equal to Socrates in the state, for the balloting but registers a public opinion. In the forming of this opinion the sage has a million times the weight of the field hand. With modern facilities for mind influencing mind, democracy, at its best, substitutes the direction of the recognized moral and intellectual *élite* for the rule of the strong, the rich, or the privileged.

The general causes of democracy are apt to be overlooked by Americans, because so much of our own democracy roots in a single unique condition, namely, *access to free land.* Think of the bracing and equalizing influence of the gratuitous distribution of a vast public domain to actual settlers! Is it any wonder the spirit of equality grew up out of recurrent frontier conditions and spread eastward? But now, alas, free land is gone, and henceforth our fate will be that of transatlantic societies. If men are cheapening there, they will cheapen here. If the people win here, it will be for the same reasons that they win in Switzerland or Finland.

What are these reasons?

One is that light is flooding the social deeps. In 1800, the average inhabitant of the United States had had eighty-two days of schooling.

Alexander Hamilton had this sort in mind when he brought his fist down on the table and shouted, "The people, sir, the people is a great beast!" So did Roger Sherman when he said, "The people immediately should have as little to do as may be about government." So did Elbridge Gerry when he declared democracy to be the worst of all political evils. So did John Adams when he demanded a separate representation for "the rich and the well-born." Hence they joined to interpose an electoral college between the people and the presidency, and the legislatures between the people and the Senate. In 1900, the average American had had 1,046 days of schooling — more than twelve times as much as his great-grandfather — yet Hamilton's sneer is still flung at him, and he is held unfit to choose a United States senator or pass upon an act of his legislature!

The fact is, the common people are no longer "masses," nor do they behave like mobs. They have broken up into individuals. There is no real likeness between a deliberate referendum vote in sparsely settled Oregon and the offhand, tumultuous decision of six thousand Athenians met in their *agora*. Heavy Tories dub this "the

era of crowds"; but that is just what it is not. For crowds and mental epidemics go to the Middle Ages, to Russia, to the Orient. Ours is *the era of publics*. Between the rule of the mob and the sovereignty of public opinion there is all the difference in the world, for the one enthrones the worst selves of the people, the other their best selves. Nevertheless, privilege screams the old taunts, and hurls at the pondered public opinion of to-day the worn epithets of the crowd psychologists —"hysteria," "frenzy," "delusion," "fanaticism," "clamor," and "impulse."

SOAP AND DEMOCRACY

Soap and water are befriending democracy. Of the personal habits of the masses down to the middle of the last century, the less said the better. The followers of Jack Cade and Rienzi were, literally, "the Great Unwashed." A gentleman had some excuse for crying "Faugh!" and holding his civet-scented handkerchief to his nose. The common people lost quickly the respect of those of their number who had won through to cleanliness and refinement. "Good breeding" referred to baths rather than to manners. When, sixty years ago, street-cars were

introduced, it was predicted that no gentleman could endure to ride in them.

How is it now? The street-car is so popular with all classes that the cab can hardly find a foothold. Besides the triumphant progress of the private bath-tub — thanks to cheap city water — the cities have been installing municipal baths. Last year thirty-four American cities supplied more than eighteen million free baths. And the movement is in its infancy, if we consider what England and Germany are doing. The effect will be narrowing of the esthetic space between those with social position and those without. Class distinctions will count for less when they turn merely on whether you have an automobile, or keep a servant, or dress for dinner.

NON-PARTIZAN RELIGION

On the walls of old Roumanian churches are to be seen frescos of the Last Judgment, in which kings, nobles, and bishops are being led off to hell, while St. Peter welcomes a throng of peasants to paradise. This consoling prospect of redress was a soporific that kept the people quiet while they were shorn. The earlier prayer-book of the English Church defines "duty toward my

neighbor" as including "to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters." No wonder the titled rake surmised, "God will think twice before he damns a person of quality!" To-day, through his twenty thousand village "popes," the Czar can drug his peasants with the story that the St. Petersburg massacre was worked up by Japanese spies. Without the enlivening prick of competition, a centralized ecclesiastical machine at last betrays the people to the Powers that Be. The religion a hierarchy ladles out to its dupes is chloroform. How cheering, then, is the fact that many Western peoples have already escaped the grip of centralized churches, and that there is no prospect of their ever again falling under priestly dictation. In all the forenoon lands, the end of clericalism is in sight. Religion, of course, will live, but not as a prop to the authority of a dominating class.

That scarcity enhances value is as true of human beings as it is of fancy stock or fast horses. Now, there are signs that folks will soon cease to be a glut in the market. In what time a babe grows to manhood, the birth-rate of Italy has fallen a tenth, of Hungary an eighth, of Germany and Holland a seventh, of France and Scotland

a sixth, of England a fifth. But not from hard times, mark you. For why should the baby crop of Australasia have shrunk a third? Why should the proportion of children among Americans have fallen a quarter in forty years? No symptom of pressure, this, but of release — release of women from the home "sphere," of wives from the yoke of husbands, of married couples from the injunction to "increase and multiply." The unlooked-for promptness with which the millions have developed a sense of responsibility in this matter of family bids us hope for a Golden Age when the specter of overpopulation will be laid forever.

Tell a Celestial gentleman of a myriad of Chinese wiped out by plague or flood, and you get the bland comment, "Plenty Chinamen left!" Such contempt is natural wherever overbreeding has cheapened humanity. In the teeming Orient common people seem as little considered as clay pigeons at the shooting traps. Being a grasshopper in the eyes of others, the individual ends by being a grasshopper in his own eyes. Hence, in the East, pessimistic religion, crouching obedience to rulers, wifely submission, subordination of self to family or community, frivolous sui-

cide, meager philanthropy. The West, on the other hand, is already the region of dear men; with a slackening output of babies, human beings will become still dearer. The Black Death, by sweeping away a third of the English people in the fourteenth century, so enhanced a man's worth that serfdom came to an end. On the same principle, a lighter birth-rate will give the common people not only more economic value, but also more social and political value.

THE PROMISE OF LEISURE

The let-up in the struggle for food and the springing up of a population of iron slaves — the machines — to do man's bidding, hold out the promise of a broader margin of leisure for all. Few realize how much the political nullity of the masses has been due to their intense preoccupation with the stern task of earning a living. Of necessity, they have been too engrossed with their work to lift their eyes to the common weal. But who can doubt that, ere long, all elements in society will have time to read, to think, to consult together, to organize? This cannot but make them abler to win and to retain political power. Popular intelligence has always proven

an embarrassment to ruling classes, and they throw what obstacles they can in the way of it. Moreover, it takes leisure, and well-employed leisure, to fit the plain people successfully to take part in government. The appalling crudeness of their ideas has again and again defeated well-meant attempts to give a larger share of control to the workers. Unless such have a margin of free time, the words of Jesus ben Sirach are as true to-day as when they were written:

"The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure;
And he that hath little business shall become wise.
How shall be become wise that holdeth the plow,
That glorieth in the shaft of the goad,
That driveth oxen, and is occupied with their labors,
And whose discourse is of the stock of bulls?
He will set his heart upon turning his furrows;
And his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder.
So is every artificer and workmaster . . .
So is the smith sitting by the anvil . . .
So is the potter sitting at his work . . .
All these put their trust in their hands;
And each becometh wise in his own work. . .
They shall not be sought for in the council of the people . . ."*

The coming rule of the functional people will therefore be warranted, not by their present wis-

* Ecclesiasticus, xxxviii. The passage is too long to quote in full.

dom, but by the intelligence they are likely to acquire when they have conquered for themselves a fair share of the leisure made possible by man's new mastery of the forces of nature.

Science is helping, in its way, to break down the claim of a particular class to act for the rest. A century ago a German apologist for aristocracy made the point that peasant and noble are not at all the same in bodily organization. They look alike, but a chemical examination would show an immense difference between them. The clod-hopper is merely a lump of organized potato, able to move itself and assimilate more potato. But the noble is made out of delicate viands — pheasants, truffles, and the like. In nerve and brain, therefore, prince and commoner are of different clay.

To-day Science scoffs at such a foundation for caste.

THE FETISH OF HEREDITY

So is it with the notion of heredity to which a privileged class appeals. Aristocracy predicates its superiority on the theory that the founder of a line hands down his capacity undiminished to his descendants. Biology shows

that this original surplus of brains is by marriage halved in each generation; that extraordinary ability cannot be transmitted far, because the older race-heredity keeps pulling one's descendants down toward the race mean; that among the privileged the fools and weaklings are not winnowed out, as they are among plain people, but propagate their kind unhindered.

Still, for all it pricks certain pink balloons of pretension, let us own frankly that Science can be twisted to the support of plutocratic arrogance. Darwinism strips the common-place man of the dignity that attached to him as a son of God and, moreover, gives the successful a chance to parade themselves as the fittest.

Art has been getting nearer the people. The poet or playwright no longer eats out of a royal or ducal hand. The painter is not a courtier, like Rubens or Lely. Artists are finding inspiration in the pathos, fidelity, or courage of peasants, fishermen, miners, or iron-workers. After Millet, Israels, Meunier, Repin, and Vereshtchagin, painters will hardly be content to take their themes from the pageant, the ball-room, or the fox-hunt. After Hugo, Ibsen, Tolstoi, Hauptmann, and Hardy, imaginative writers are not

likely to accept the feudal stigma on labor, nor to echo the sneer of Renan: "The masses do not count, are a mere bulk of raw material out of which, drop by drop, the essence is extracted."

The needs of discipline make army and navy hotbeds of caste feeling, of contempt for the civil, or at least for the industrial, population. In view of the Juggernaut of European militarism, we Americans ought to be thankful that we should have to multiply our navy by seven to make it bulk among us as the navy bulks in Great Britain. In Germany, one man in thirty is in barracks, being drilled into deference and obedience; in the United States, one man in three hundred. We should need to multiply our army by ten to have overbearing officers knocking their men about and running civilians through with their swords, as in Germany.

The newspaper cartoon is a democrat. Some day the inventor of it will rank with Gutenberg, for in enlightening the people on public affairs it is to red ink and capitals what the arc-light is to the tallow dip. Give it much of the credit for the growing failure of the bosses to hoodwink the voters. It is like the Greek fire that saved civilization from the Turks. Lie? Of course

the political machine, too, can launch its cartoons, but a false cartoon is like a wet rocket. It does not go off.

Some, I know, will pooh-pooh my showing. "You are behind the times," I hear them say. "Actually the trend is all the other way. How about the rule of Big Business in American cities and states? Have not special interests, working through party machines, made self-government a fiction? And if democracy has become a sham in the house of its guardians, what hope is there for it elsewhere?

No. What has been lost is not democracy, but certain fruits of democracy. The interests have their way only because they work in the dark — always in the dark. They contrive to fool enough of the people enough of the time. There is robbery by the mailed fist, and robbery by the lithe hand. The feudal classes spoiled the people like a Front de Boeuf, the corporations today filch from us like Fagin. The plain people here are not weak, as they are in Russia, in India, in South America. They are strong, but they have not been taking notice — that is all. They have been too sure, too careless, too trusting. But it will not take generations of slow upbuild-

ing to put the people again at the helm. Ring the tocsin a few years, and we shall see who is master.

Is it, then, all plain sailing for the common people?

In this country the thronging in from the backward, benighted lands hurts socially the callings and circles that the immigrants enter. Their habits cause Americans to shrink from them as from a lower caste. Their helplessness invites oppression. Certain official brutalities peculiar to us — white peonage, police clubbing, the "sweat-box," the "third degree," the convict-lease system — got their start in the abuse of the friendless alien. Their wage-cutting, "scabbing," and strike-breaking foment violence, which leads to the ready bayonet, state constabularies, and the denial of home rule to cities. Their political crudeness brings reproach on democratic institutions. Their clannishness delivers them to the shrewd boss who gives them "representation" on his ticket. Finally, our increasing diversity in blood and tradition, by permitting race prejudice to be played upon, divides and weakens the people in their fight for self-government.

Nor is this all.

The startling inequalities of wealth that have sprung up in a generation threaten to establish class distinctions hostile to democracy. For the tendency of such abysmal contrasts is thus: The ultra-rich vie in extravagance. The spectacle of their baronial estates, princely houses, liveried lackeys, Sybaritic luxury, and elaborate ostentation infects even the worthy with the worship of wealth. Success comes to be measured by the sheer cash standard. The young and ambitious realize it, and shape their course accordingly. People fall apart into as many social groups as there are styles of living, and forget how to meet their fellows on the level. The rule is, snobbishness toward those below you, and toadyism toward those above you. The rich are gangrened with pride, the poor with envy. There is no longer a public opinion, there are only clashing class opinions. Honest labor is felt to be more disgraceful than mean parasitism. The toiling millions cease to be respected, even by themselves. The upper classes claim and are conceded the right to lead, finally the right to govern.

Such would be the course of the malady. Unless democracy mends the distribution of wealth,

the mal-distribution of wealth will end democracy.

And yet — summing up — the balance inclines in favor of democracy. The forces on its side reach deeper; they are civilizational. The swarming in of low-grade immigrants and the mal-distribution of wealth are manageable things. They can be, in fact elsewhere have been, successfully dealt with by organized society. They are matters for statesmanship. So it is more likely that democracy will cut the roots of privilege than that privilege will cut the roots of democracy.

Let the half-stifled muck-raker, the faltering soldier of the common good, the down-hearted reformer leave his trench for a moment and climb to the hilltop that looks out on all the peoples and on all the forces of the age.

He will see that "the lips of the morning are reddening!"

II

THE WORLD WIDE ADVANCE OF DEMOCRACY

THIRTY odd years ago when the Shah of Persia was in Berlin as guest of the German Kaiser, a special musical program was given at Kroll's Theater for the pleasure of the Eastern potentate. At the close the Shah was asked if there was any number he would like to have repeated. Yes, would the orchestra please repeat the *first* number? They played it, but he was dissatisfied; the piece that had caught his fancy was the one *before* that. Finally it became clear that what he wanted to hear again was the musicians *tuning up their instruments.* After His Majesty and suite had vacated the royal palace provided for their stay, the splendid apartments were found to be in horrible condition; for every morning the sun-worshipers had sacrificed goats in the tapestried audience hall! The other day from the land of this barbarian ruler came the cry of the Persian Majliss or as-

sembly to the American Congress appealing for its support for maintaining popular government in Persia.

Within six years we have seen the creation of parliaments in Turkey, Russia, Persia and China, the birth of a republic in Portugal and in China, the overthrow of "Diaz-potism" in Mexico, the startling spread of unrest in India and the growth of political socialism in all Western countries. Wherefore this stirring of Demos in many lands? There is no central fire that breaks out in volcanic eruption, now here, now there, for between Portugal and Asia, between the Far East and the Near East there is no secret co-operation. The peoples are restless because the world over certain universal causes are undermining arbitrary and anti-social government.

THE WHITE MAN'S OBJECT-LESSONS

As the pushing white man plants his settlements here and there over the globe, he furnishes other races impressive object lessons, in good government. Sixty years ago Hong-Kong was a barren rock infested by pirates. Now it harbors a third of a million Chinese under the union jack and the number is ever swelling.

Recently the Colony provided for the countless junks and sampans that line the shore a "typhoon refuge" where, in case the little house-boat swamps, John and his family will find themselves in water of wading depth. At great cost the government has lined all the ravines and gullies that lace the mountain side with cement drains, so that not a hoof-printful of rainwater shall stand breeding the pestilent mosquito. At street corners boxes are placed to receive dead rats, for the rat is the bearer of the bubonic plague. In a single year sixty thousand dead rats were collected and examined and three hundred yielded evidences which subjected the wards from which they came to plague measures. Imagine how the streams of Celestials circulating between Hong-Kong and the mainland spread the knowledge of what a civilized government does for its people! At Shanghai and Tientsin, veritable fairylands to the Chinese, they cannot but contrast the throngs of rickshas, dog-carts, broughams and motor cars that pour endlessly through the spotless asphalt streets with the narrow, crooked, filthy, noisome streets of the native city, to be traversed only afoot or in sedan chair. Even the young man-

darin, buried alive in some dingy walled town of the far interior, without news, events, or society, recalls with longing the lights, the gorgeous tea houses and the alluring "sing song" girls of Foochow Road and curses the stupid policy that penalizes every enterprising Chinaman who tries to "start something" for the benefit of the community. At Kiaouchou the Germans with their handsome streets, quays, docks, schools, parks and reforested hillsides are giving an object lesson to the intelligent Chinese.

HEALTHY GOVERNMENT IS "CATCHING"

Foreign residence or travel is another thing that converts the Asiatic to the Western idea of government for the people. Mournfully he contrasts the wonderful bustle, riches and power of the self-governing countries with the sloth, poverty and weakness of his own country. The "Young Turk" movement started with Turks who knew the West and was at first directed from Paris. Wherever Chinese wander — Singapore, Borneo, Indo-China, Java, the Philippines — they find a better government than China has ever known. In the Malay States there are thirty Chinese millionaires, yet until

lately not one of these dared return to his native province lest the mandarin, in the name of an old law which forbids the subjects of the Son of Heaven to leave the realm without permission, should lay him by the heels and wring his wealth out of him. Can we wonder that the ten millions of Chinese prospering outside of China are enthusiastic supporters of the Chinese Revolution?

In spite of their discreet avoidance of political meddling, the missionary educators have been mining the foundations of the Asiatic state. In Robert's College and Beirut College the son of the muleteer as well as the son of the pasha learned of a kind of government that allows free speech, free press, free movement, free assemblage and equality of all before the law. In the fourteen Protestant mission colleges planted about China the sons of peasants and of gentry became acquainted with Western discussions on liberty, equality and the responsibilities of rulers to the people. In certain of these colleges all the finer lads soon joined the secret societies that were striving to get the Manchu "old-man-of-the-sea" off the back of the Chinese.

As translator, too, the missionary has been an

innocent abettor of revolution. He not only did the Bible into the Oriental tongues, but also the masterpieces of Western thought, including treatises on political science. Thus the intelligent natives have learned of the blessings we expect from government, of our notion that the rulers are the servants, not the masters of the people. They become fascinated by the vision and read on and on till their minds are completely alienated from Oriental ideas. Only when there is a crack in governmental authority and the red-hot lava rushes up through it, can we appreciate the heat and stress of the minds that have undergone this conversion.

The native newspaper press is the chief disseminator of new ideas among the common people. Within a few weeks after the upheaval in Constantinople, over two hundred new papers had appeared. The peoples of Turkey have developed a great interest in public happenings and their consumption of newspapers continually rises. In China the last decade has seen the growth of a native press believed to include not less than four hundred sheets. In the villages a number of poor men club together and subscribe for some paper published from the safe

shelter of a foreign concession. It is understood in what order they shall read it and by the time the copy reaches subscriber number 5, it is worn to a rag. Among the illiterates the new ideas are spread by means of clever cartoons.

REALITIES OF ORIENTAL GOVERNMENT

Light always converts the Oriental into an insurgent because governments of the classic Asiatic type cannot stand comparison. Through their crude taxing methods they torment the people needlessly, like a clumsy sheep shearer who cannot remove the fleece without taking skin as well as wool. They fail to afford security, the *sine qua non* of thrift and enterprise. "Never will I invest a penny of my money outside the zone of foreign protection," Wu Ting Fang once told me. Oriental governments bleed new industries instead of encouraging them. Failing to separate the judicial from the executive, their courts are courts of injustice. The claim of the crown to all hidden wealth discourages the mining of the precious metals. Highways are not provided and public works are neglected. In consequence enterprises stifle, the people do not develop their capacities, and inevitably the bulk

of them remain ignorant, superstitious, apathetic and poor.

In a recent book the Empress Dowager's first lady-in-waiting tells how among the Empress's New Year's presents were four bags of perfectly matched pearls from the Viceroy of Canton. Her Majesty, however, had already such stores of pearls that she took no notice of the splendid gift beyond remarking that they were "very nice." The Viceroy of Chili sent a cloak so overlaid with precious stones that Her Majesty found it "too heavy" and never wore it but once. Other viceroys sent like gifts, for each must keep himself in favor at Peking. In view of the squandering of peasant money on costly gewgaws for the court and on the pensions of a million Manchus, one cannot be surprised at the blood-curdling slogan, "Fellow countrymen, the Manchu has eaten our flesh long enough; henceforth we intend to sleep in his skin!"

The common characteristic of governments free from any form of popular control is that they take much and return little. Saving an occasional Alfred, or Frederick the Great, or Joseph the Second, no government serves the people unless it has to. The irresponsible rulers

either exact more or do less than popular governments — usually both. In an "Oriental" country four-fifths of the services we expect from governments are unknown. Roads, street cleaning, fire fighting, sanitation, patents, forestry, agricultural experiment, education and care of the poor are not recognized as duties of the official. Naturally, then, when Orientals learn of the tender and considerate revenue systems of the West, when they hear of the benefits showered upon the citizen, when they contrast the hard-working, business-like official on a fixed salary with the cormorant pashas and mandarins, they feel just as we should feel under such circumstances; for human nature resents giving something for nothing.

Recent developments make it clear that the interaction between East and West is to produce, not compromise, but a complete acceptance of Western fundamental institutions by the Orient. It does not appear that the Asiatics balk at our political and social arrangements any more than they reject our surgery, telephones, or tramcars. In other words, the *willed* elements in our civilization — not its noxious by-products — are congenial to human nature and therefore of uni-

versal validity. It appears that the Turk hates espionage, arbitrary arrest, the passport system, the "baksheesh" plan and other practices of absolutism. He enjoys inviolability of domicile, sacredness of private correspondence, freedom from illegal arrest, liberty of assemblage, of speech and of the press. The Chinaman hates "squeeze," official sloth and the waste of public money; he likes roads, police, schools, and a uniform currency.

FROM SWORD TO SHEKEL

Whenever the hated absolute government falls before a united people, all expect the event to usher in the Golden Age. In the Turkish "feast of liberty" there was a fraternization like that of the French at the Festival of the Constitution in 1790. Christian and Turk, Moslem and Jew, Kurd and Armenian, priest and layman, official and citizen, fell into one another's arms and kissed. But this spirit of brotherhood does not last long. Usually, the propertied middle class gains most, while the dependent classes may be worse off after the change. In Japan the new industrialism is working out its inevitable results in overwork, long hours, underpay, child

labor and female labor. Yet the cotton and silk lords from Osaka and Kyoto, sitting in Parliament, defeat every attempt of a paternal government to pass factory laws. The parliamentary régime at first seats certain classes in the saddle and the attainment of genuine democracy in any Oriental country will call for many struggles and sacrifices. Nevertheless, a society in which only two-thirds are skinned is better off than a society in which nine out of ten are flayed. The rule of the shekel is milder than the double despotism of shekel and sword.

THE DEMOCRACY OF SOCIALISM

The advance of socialism in Western countries is simply the later phase of the world wide drift toward democracy. Although possessed of the ballot, the working class has so far done little for itself because laborers have persisted in accepting and acting on the economic philosophy of their employers. But now there exists a full-fledged, working class philosophy — with press, literature, program and propaganda — which is dignified by the support of scholars, scientists, artists, prelates, publicists, journalists and statesmen. This philosophy calls black that

which the reigning business-class philosophy calls white, and calls white that which the other calls black. It declares that the workers, not the idlers, are the cornerstone of society and insists that the first thing to be considered is livelihoods, not profits. However biased and wrong-headed this economic philosophy may be, it does give the working man courage to take a line of his own and develop his own attitude toward the social system the possessing class have framed. Through his own organs and orators he learns of damning facts once kept from him and becomes critical, self-assertive and demanding. The spread of socialism, then, is but the latest phase of the universal tendency for the people to endeavor to control government for their own benefit.

III

THE FALLING BIRTH-RATE

A CENTURY ago Malthus startled the world by demonstrating that our race naturally multiplies faster than it can increase its food supply, with the result that population tends ever to press painfully upon the means of subsistence. So long as mankind reproduces freely, numbers can be adjusted to resources only by the grinding of destructive agencies, such as war, famine, poverty and disease. To be sure, this ghastly train of ills may be escaped if only people will prudently postpone marriage. Since, however, late marriage calls for the exercise of more foresight and self-control than can be looked for in the masses, Malthus painted the future of humanity with a somberness that gave political economy its early nickname of "the dismal science."

Malthus is not in the least "refuted" by the fact that, during his century, the inhabitants of

Europe leaped in number from one hundred and eighty-seven millions to four hundred millions, with no increase but rather a diminution of misery. It is true, unprecedented successes in augmenting the food supply have staved off the overpopulation danger. Within a life time, not only have the arts of food raising made giant strides, but, at the world's rim, great virgin tracts have been brought under the plow, while steam hurries to the larders of the Old World their surplus produce. But such a bounty of the gods is not rashly to be capitalized. While there is no limit to be set to the progress of scientific agriculture, no one can show where our century is to find its Mississippi Valley, Argentina, Canada, or New Zealand to fill with herds or farms. The vaunted plenty of our time adjourns but does not dispel the haunting vision of a starving race on a crowded planet.

THE RACE-WIDE DECLINE IN THE BIRTH-RATE

Nevertheless, the clouds that hung low about the future are breaking. The terrible Malthus failed to anticipate certain influences which in some places have already so far checked multiplication as to ameliorate the lot of even the

lower and broader social layers. The sagging of the national birth-rate made its first appearance about fifty years ago in France, thereby giving the other peoples a chance to thank God they were not as these decadent French. But the thing has become so general that to-day no people dares to point the finger of scorn. In 1878, after the notorious trial of the "Neo-Malthusians," Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, for circulating "The Fruits of Philosophy," the fall of the birth-rate began in England. During the eighties, it invaded Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. In 1889 it seized with great virulence upon Australia, again as sequel to a law case. Just before the close of the century Finland, Italy and Hungary fell into line. In Germany and Austria it is only within four or five years that the economists have begun to discuss "our diminishing fecundity." In all Christendom, only Russia, the Balkan states and French Canada show the old-fashioned birth-rates of forty, fifty or even fifty-five, per thousand.

If for each nation we compare the average birth-rate of 1903-5, with that of 1876-80, the per cent. of decline is as follows: —

New Zealand	34	Germany	17
New South Wales	30	Norway	16
England	25	Sweden	15
Scotland	21	Switzerland	13
Belgium	21	Austria	12
France	20	Italy	12
Holland	18	Denmark	11
Hungary	18	Ireland	9

The tendency in the United States is best revealed in the diminishing number of children under five years to each thousand women of child-bearing age. The decline from 1860 to 1890 is 24 per cent.

1850	626
1860	634
1870	572
1880	559
1890	485
1900	479

As the bulk of our recent immigration comes from the more prolific European peoples, certain New England states which are rapidly filling with aliens show a slight rise in fecundity. If, however, the contribution of the native women be separated from that of the foreign born women, it appears that the old American stock there is dying out.

THE DEATH-RATE FALLS FASTER THAN THE BIRTH-RATE

Owing to the fact that the death rate has been falling even faster than the birth rate, there is, so far, no slackening in the growth of numbers. Indeed, part of the fall in the birth rate merely reflects the increasing proportion of aged. But it is certain that human life cannot be prolonged indefinitely, while there is no telling how far the aversion to large families may go. We may, therefore, count on a marked retardation in the growth of the Western peoples within our lifetime.

THE NEW MORTALITY MORE CONTAGIOUS THAN THE NEW FECUNDITY

The forces reducing the death-rate are by no means the same as those cutting down the birth-rate, nor have they the same sphere of operation. Deaths are fewer because of advances in medicine, better medical education, public hospitals, pure water supply, milk inspection, housing reform and sanitation. Births are rarer owing to enlightenment, the ascent of women and individualistic democracy. The former may be intro-

duced quickly, from above. The latter await the slow action of the school, the press, the ballot, the loosening of custom.

For this reason, where a backward folk is brought under efficient modern administration, the proportion of deaths may be rapidly reduced even though the people continue to breed in the old reckless way. This is why in Russia and India, with their amazing birth-rate of 49 per thousand (New Jersey and Michigan have 18.5!), Science saves lives from disease only to lose them to famine. Here, then, is a factor which threatens to rupture the military and political equilibrium between French and Germans, between Germans and Slavs, between Europeans and Asiatics, between the white race and the yellow and brown races. If ever pacific China flames out into a Yellow Peril it will be in that momentous interval between her laying down drains and her quitting ancestor worship.

FALSE INTERPRETATION

An abrupt fall in the birth-rate of from 10 to 20 per cent. among the four hundred million bearers of the Occidental torch is a phenomenon so vast and so pregnant as to excite the liveliest

speculation. Some lay it to physiological sterility produced by alcohol, city life and over-civilization. There are, indeed, in some quarters, notably in New England, evidences of a decline in female fertility; but, on the whole, the lower birth-rate reflects the smaller size of families rather than the greater frequency of childless couples. New South Wales with a lower birth-rate than England has less than half her proportion of sterile unions.

Others insist that vice, club-life, the comfortable celibacy of cities, and the access of women to the occupations are turning people away from wedlock. It is true that the proportion of single women is increasing with us. Still, few peoples are so much married as Americans, and, for all that, their birth-rate has fallen fast and fallen far. Michigan, which is about as addicted to the married state as any white community in the world, has only two-thirds the fecundity of England and half that of Hungary.

The root causes of the general shrinkage in fecundity are certain characteristic tendencies in our civilization.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Perhaps the master force of our time is democracy. The barriers of caste are down so that more and more a man's social standing depends upon himself. The lists of life are open to all, and the passion to "succeed" grows with the value of the prizes to be won. Never before did so many common people strain to reach a higher rung in the social ladder. But prudence bids these eager climbers avoid whatever will impede one's ascent or imperil one's footing. Children are incumbrances, so the ambitious dread the handicap of an early marriage and a large family. Even the unselfish, whose aim is to assure their children a social position equal to or superior to their own, will see to it that there are not more children than they can properly equip.

THE CONTAGION OF WANTS

The effect of democracy is reinforced by the break-up of custom. As fixed class distinctions fade out, people cease to be guided by the traditional standard of comfort of their class. It is no longer enough to live as father and mother lived. Wants and tastes once confined to the

social elect, spread resistlessly downward and infect the masses. Tidal waves of imitation carry the craving for luxuries hitherto looked upon as the prerogative of the rich among millions of people of limited means, and these, in their selfish haste to gratify their new wants, learn to economize in offspring. Here the decencies, there the comforts, yonder the vanities of life compete with the possible child and bar it from existence.

THE RISING VALUE OF WOMAN

So long as woman existed for wifehood alone, her childbirth pangs did not count. Unconsciously the husband accepted the dictum of Luther, "If a woman becomes weary or at last dead from bearing, that matters not; let her then die from bearing, she is there to do it." But the great movement that has burst the fetters on woman's mind, and opened to her so many careers, exalts her in the marriage partnership and causes the heavy price of motherhood to be more considered by her husband as well as by herself.

BLESSINGS FROM THE LESSENING OF FECUNDITY

However we account for the fall in the birth-

rate, there is no question as to its consequences. The decline registers itself in a rising plane of comfort, a growth of small savings and a wider diffusion of ownership. Owing to the better care enjoyed by the aged when they do not have to compete for attention with an over-large brood of wailing infants, there is a striking increase in longevity. A greater proportion of lives are rounded out to the Psalmist's term. There is also a wonderful saving of life among infants, for often prolificacy does nothing but fill the churchyards with wee mounds. There is mournful meaning in the fact that the French Canadians, famed for their full quivers, show the census-taker no larger families than other Canadians. The shocking Slavic average of seven or eight births to a mother, is shadowed by the needless loss during the first year of a full fourth of all those born.

When we consider that in 1790 there were in this country just twice as many children under 16 to adults over 20 as there are to-day we understand why the law limits child labor and insists on keeping children in school. The fact that now the average woman has about half as many children under 16 to look after as her

great-grandmother had throws a great light on the underlying causes of the women's club movement, the changing notion of woman's "sphere," the growing interest of women in public affairs, and the equal suffrage movement.

With big families vanishes what Bishop Potter called "the slaughter of women in the interest of bearing sixteen children." From the numerous gravestones to the third, fourth and even fifth wife in the Old New England burying grounds, we know that the teeming households of olden times were bought with a price and that the mothers paid it. The Puritan deification of fatherhood has well been characterized as "a system of female sacrifice — not to ancestors, but to descendants."

VANISHING OF THE OVERPOPULATION SPECTER

But the supreme service of forethoughted parenthood is that it bids fair to deliver us from the overpopulation horror, which was becoming more imminent with every stride in medicine or public hygiene. Most of the Western peoples have now an excess of births over deaths of one per cent. a year. If even a third of this increase should find a footing over sea, the home expan-

sion would still be such that, at a future date no more remote from us than the founding of Jamestown, Europe would groan under a population of three billions, while the United States of that day, with twice as many people as Europe now has, would be to China what China is to the present United States. Besides its attendant misery and degradation, population pressure sharpens every form of struggle among men,—competition, class strife, and war — and the dream of a moral redemption of our race would vanish into thin air if the enlightened peoples had failed to meet the crisis created by the reduction of mortality.

Once it seemed as if man's propensity to multiply foredoomed him to live ever in the presence of vast immedicable woe. However smiling the gardens of Daphne, they had always to slope down into a huge malodorous quagmire of wretchedness. The wheel of Ixion, the cup of Tantalus, symbolized humanity striving ever by labor and ingenuity to relieve itself of a painful burden, only to have that burden inexorably rolled back upon it by its own fatal fecundity. Who could have foreseen that the evangel of freedom, universal instruction and individual

self-development would so soon banish the over-population specter and clear the way for indefinite progress?

There is, to be sure, another side to the shield.

THE UGLY SIDE OF RESTRICTION

The new power to control the size of the family is at first wielded recklessly and selfishly. The very motives that have wholesomely moderated national fecundity prompt some couples to shirk all duties to the race. The egoistic dread of being handicapped in the pursuit of vanities might, if it became general, cause population to dwindle even in an Eden. The shrinkage of thirty per cent. in the baby crop of roomy New South Wales in sixteen years is a portent. Are we coming to a time when the state will have to *hire* couples to produce children?

Among the over-canny are found many stunted one-child and two-child families, the children of which are likely to lack in stamina and character. Such a domestic ideal is morbid and noxious. The type it is safe to standardize is not the family of from one to three children, but the

family of from four to six children. The dwarf family, which is getting all too common in some circles, will hurry to Avernus the class, the people or the race that adopts it.

The rising are the first to become child-shy, and so, as the witty Frenchman observed, "All the big families live in the little houses and all the little families live in the big houses." Since half the nation's children come from a quarter of the families, race deterioration soon sets in if the successful withhold their quota while the stupid multiply like rabbits. This recruitment from below is, however, a passing phase and some peoples are nearly by it. In England the careless prolificacy of the neglected masses is demonstrably lowering the race average, but in democratic France, Scandivania, Australia and the United States the middle-sized family is coming to prevail at all levels of society.

COMING BARRIERS TO IMMIGRATION

Now that cheap travel stirs the social deeps and far-beckoning opportunity fills the steerages, immigration becomes ever more serious to the people that hopes to rid itself at least of

slums, "masses" and "submerged." What is the good of practising prudence in the family if hungry strangers may crowd in and occupy at the banquet table of life the places reserved for its children? Shall it in order to relieve the teeming lands of their unemployed abide in the pit of wolfish competition and renounce the fair prospect of a growth in suavity, comfort and refinement? If not, then the low-pressure society must not only slam its doors upon the indraught, but must double-lock them with forts and ironclads, lest they be burst open by assault from some quarter where "cannon food" is cheap.

The rush of developments makes it certain that the vision of a globe "lapt in universal law" is premature. If the seers of the mid-century who looked for the speedy triumph of free trade had read their Malthus aright, they might have anticipated the tariff barriers that have risen on all hands within the last thirty years. So, today one needs no prophet's mantle to foresee that presently the world will be cut up with immigration barriers which will never be leveled until the intelligent accommodation of numbers to resources has greatly equalized population pressure all over the globe. The French resent the

million and a third aliens that have been squeezed into hollow and prosperous France by pressure in the neighbor lands. The English restrict immigration from the Continent. The Germans feel the thrust from the overstocked Slavic areas. The United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa are barring out the Asiatic. Dams against the color races, with spillways of course for students, merchants and travelers, will presently enclose the white man's world. Within this area minor dams will protect the high wages of the less prolific peoples against the surplus labor of the more prolific.

Assuredly, every small-family nation will try to raise such a dam and every big-family nation will try to break it down. The outlook for peace and disarmament is, therefore, far from bright. One needs but compare the population-pressures in France, Germany, Russia and Japan to realize that, even to-day, the real enemy of the dove of peace is not the eagle of pride or the vulture of greed but the stork!

RESTRICTION AND RACE DESTINY

The great point of doubt in birth restriction is the ability of the Western nations to retain

control of the vast African, Australasian and South American areas they have staked out as preserves to be peopled at their leisure with the diminishing overflow of their population. If underbreeding should leave them without the military strength that alone can defend their far flung frontiers in the Southern Hemisphere, those huge under-developed regions will assuredly be filled with the children of the brown and the yellow races, and the whites will contribute less than they ought to the blood of the ultimate race that is to possess the globe. One starts at the thought that some day, when the Olympic games are held in a glittering capital by the waters of Victoria Nyanza, the Kirghiz-American champion of the hammer-throw may divide the *banzais* of the amphitheater with the almond-eyed winner of the Marathon race!

IV

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INCREASING DIVORCE

THE PROVEN TREND

TWENTY years ago an investigation by the Department of Labor showed that, between 1867 and 1886, 328,716 divorces had been granted in the United States, and that divorces were increasing two and one-half times as fast as population. The recent census for the period 1887-1906 brings to light 945,625 divorces and establishes that the movement constantly gains in velocity. At present, probably one marriage in ten is broken by divorce and in some states the proportion may be as high as one in four. Forty years ago the broad contrast was between North and South; but the divorce rates of North and South have been converging, whereas those of East and West have diverged. The Central States have two and one-half times the rate of the Atlantic States, while for the Western States the proportion is three and one-half.

Although the tide of divorce is rising the world over, nowhere is it so high, nowhere is it

rising so fast as in the United States. Our rate is twice that of Switzerland, thrice that of France, five times that of Germany and many times that of England and Canada.

The census figures dissipate many false impressions. It is often assumed that many couples separate precipitately after the first quarrel before they have given marriage a fair trial. But the average interval before separation exceeds six and one-half years, and is not diminishing. Since more than half the couples lived together above four years, while in the majority of cases the duration of marriage exceeded seven years, it would be rash to surmise that people are forming risky and unstable unions in full view of their easy dissolution.

Nor is divorce usually sought in order to remarry. In Connecticut during a period of years the number of divorced persons married was about 40 per cent. of the number divorced in the same time. In Rhode Island from 1889 to 1896 the proportion was only 28 per cent. Remarriage is one of those cases in which, as Doctor Johnson puts it, "hope triumphs over experience," and it is not at all certain that the rate for divorced persons much exceeds that for wid-

ows and widowers of the same age. Certainly the restrictions many states are imposing on remarriage do not seem to affect appreciably the divorce rate.

It is doubtful if one divorce in twenty is obtained by migrating to a "liberal" state. The social prominence of such exiles gives them a newspaper and magazine notoriety out of all relation to their numbers. A divorce "colony" at Reno or Cheyenne obscures the fact that the practice has descended among the plain people, few of whom can afford to seek relief outside their own state.

MISINTERPRETATIONS

It is erroneous to suppose that the cause and cure of the drift toward divorce is to be found in legislation. Twenty years ago Professor Willcox, on the basis of the most rigid investigations, declared "the immediate, direct and measurable influence of legislation is subsidiary, unimportant, almost imperceptible." Says Dr. Dike, the Secretary of the National League for the Protection of the Family: "The direct influence of lax laws in producing the great increase of divorce in the last forty years is relatively

small." Moreover, the tendency of legislation for the last twenty years has been decidedly in the direction of greater stringency.

The failing grip of the legal institution need not entail a corresponding abandonment of the hallowed ideal of marriage as a lifelong union. If the iron clamp be loosed, it does not follow that the silken cord is weaker. Although in thirty-eight years, the resort to divorce has become three times as frequent, there is little to show that couples are taking the vows of wedlock with any other desire or expectation than union till death. Nor can we conclude that wronged spouses are less faithful than formerly to this ideal. The loveless couples of the good old times appear to have been held together by public opinion, religious ordinance, ignorance of a remedy, the expense of divorce, or the wife's economic helplessness, rather than by a heroic fidelity to an ideal.

In nineteen cases out of twenty the marriage purports to be shattered by some flagrant wrong, such as adultery, cruelty, drunkenness, desertion, imprisonment for crime, or neglect to provide. Nevertheless, the growth of divorce cannot be taken as a sure sign of increasing de-

pravity on the part of husbands or wives. Often the "cause" that figures in the record is a screen for some deep-seated irritant. People will not allow their inmost domestic affairs to be dragged into newspaper publicity. Physicians declare that many marital troubles have their roots in the pathology of sex, and do not argue moral fault on the part of either spouse.

Some of those who speak with utmost positiveness on the divorce problem betray a strange confusion of thought. A new legal cause for divorce is stigmatized as "an assault upon the marriage compact," as if divorce ever broke up a happy home. The clergyman who characterizes a divorce law as "a statute undermining the very substructure of society" implies that nothing but coercion holds man and wife together. One divine, with unconscious cynicism, denounces divorce as "threatening the very foundations of the home." Another, who beseeches us to "protect the poor from the evils of loose divorce statutes" evidently conceives permission to separate as a malignant entity, going about rending harmonious households. One judge pictures it as "the antipodal foe of marriage" which "invades the home and defiles its sanc-

tities," under the curious notion that there are any "sanctities" left in the home made hideous by brutality or drunkenness. Still more bizarre is the idea that by denying release to the mismated we shall "restore the purity of our homes." Very likely the oft-noted purity of homes and faithfulness to the legal tie in this country is in some relation to the opportunity of the dissatisfied to secure relief on a legal basis instead of following secret amorous intrigue.

Evidently there is widespread failure to distinguish between symptom and disease.

ECONOMIC CAUSES

In view of the fact that two-thirds of the divorces are granted to the wife, it is safe to say that the majority of them would not be sought but for the access of women to the industrial field. Between 1870 and 1900, while population doubled, the number of working women trebled. No doubt the openings for women multiplied yet faster. More and more we live in cities and the city gives the woman her chance. The smallness of the alimony contingent — for only one wife in eight obtains alimony — and the presence of 55

per cent. of all divorced women among the bread-winners indicate that in most cases the wife who seeks a divorce expects to support herself. Hence, the better her prospect of solving the bread-and-butter question by her own efforts, the oftener the aggrieved wife will pluck up courage to break her fetters and face the world alone. Possibly the fact that in the North the wife takes the initiative in 71 per cent. of the cases, while in the South the wife seeks release in only 55 per cent. of the cases, is not owing to the greater meekness and patience of Southern wives but hinges on the difference in the industrial opportunity for women in the two sections.

It has been noticed that the communities in which early marriage is the rule are the most free from divorce. The reason is that early subjection to the marital yoke hinders the woman developing to her full stature. There is no demand of a developing personality more insistent than the liberty to bestow or to withhold one's self and one's love; whereas the dwarfed personality feels no imperative need for self-disposal, no profanation in accepting the mate provided. Says Professor Willcox: "Only sixteen to twenty years of age when she passes out

of the control of her father and mother into that of a husband, with no taste of freedom intervening, with a mind and character so unformed as easily to be brought into harmony with or submission to her husband's, with no way of escape open to her after marriage, whatever the law may say, what wonder that the peasant woman of Russia, Ireland, or elsewhere, shows little inclination to divorce!"

Now, in the United States, the age at which women first marry is steadily rising. In Massachusetts the average is about twenty-five years. In Russia, nearly three brides out of five are under twenty. With us, thanks to woman's chance to earn, only one-ninth of the girls under twenty are married. Two-fifths of the girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four are bread-winners, and after the seven years of independence, which is the lot of the average young working woman, they enter upon wedlock with a high spirit that will not brook subjection.

Nor is it to be forgotten that specialized industry in a way unfits a young woman for marriage by weaning her from the domestic arts. The girl married at eighteen directly from the parental home is more likely to make and keep a

home happy than the girl who marries at twenty-five after some years in factory, store or office. Without her old housekeeping knack and despising the crude work of the kitchen, the latter too often fails to make home comfortable, and the couple sink into a misery which may end in domestic shipwreck. The demoralizing reaction of home-slackness is brought out by studies made by Cadbury in Birmingham. There the proportion of sober and steady men is nearly twice as great in families where the wives do not work out as in homes presided over by employed women.

Incessantly the factory planes away the economic basis of the family. In the time of our grandmothers the home was the seat of a score of productive processes, and the ideal wife was the "virtuous woman" celebrated by Solomon. She might not be a "soul-mate" to her husband, but she was a prop to the prosperity of the household. Now that the machine has captured most of the domestic processes and the middle class home is sustained by the earnings of the husband, the wife from a helpmeet has become a luxury. If, now, there is a rift in the lute, the husband becomes conscious of carrying a bur-

den, and resents things that are overlooked in the wife who is a true yoke-fellow.

On the other hand, the capable, unencumbered woman, who finds herself doomed by social convention to be supported in idleness by a husband who can earn, perhaps, little more than she can, is also making a sacrifice — a sacrifice which she will chafe under in case the marriage fails to satisfy her affections.

In a word, outside of the manual laboring class, the old economic framework of the family has largely fallen away, leaving more of the strain to come on the personal tie. Husband and wife are held together by love, conscience, and convention, but very little by that profitable copartnership which once contributed so much to the stability of the home.

INTELLECTUAL CAUSES

The intellectual progress of women swells the demand for matrimonial surgery. To-day two ideals of the family are struggling for mastery — the old despotic family, of Roman origin and ecclesiastical sanction, based on the authority of the husband and the merging of the wife's legal personality in his, and the democratic family of

Germanic origin based on the consenting and harmonious wills of two equals. The one goes naturally with pioneering, agriculture and warfare, which put men to the fore; the other goes with industry, peace and city life, which add to the consequence of women. In proportion as women escape from abject mental dependence on men and find a point of view of their own, they spurn patriarchal claims and expect marriage to be the union of equal wills. What with more girls than boys in the high schools and half as many women as men in college, it is not surprising that women more and more enter marriage with a connubial ideal of their own. Nevertheless, the men they wed — many of them — cherish the conviction that the husband is the rightful "head" of the family. The resulting clash of ideals is none the less disastrous because it is but an incident of a transition process in social evolution.

The intellectual ferment of our time weakens the grasp of the social institution upon the innocent individual. The voice of authority — whether it appeals to precedent, to doctrine, or to Holy Writ — is little heeded. No longer is a rigid arrangement able to hedge itself about

with a divine sanction. The question "*Qui bono*" is in the air. Any policy that crushes the individual or blocks his pursuit of happiness is challenged and obliged to produce the best of credentials. The feeling that "marriage is for man, not man for marriage" is — along with heresy trials and contempt of the courts — an outcome of the reigning spirit of criticism. Now, as ever, lawmaker and theologian stand ready to bind on hapless persons heavy burdens and grievous to be borne — for the callousness of the well-wed to the woes of the mismated passes all belief — but public sentiment is master to-day; and public sentiment, taking the promotion of happiness as the end of human institutions, flinches from keeping the unhappy locked together when no demonstrable harm will result. Any one who would turn this sentiment against divorce must appeal to sociology rather than to dogma.

An inevitable by-product of the liberation of women from men, and of both from Tradition, is a rank individualism which makes a lasting union impossible, and thus defeats the end for which marriage exists. No doubt much of the infidelity that purports to lie at the root of a

sixth of the cases of divorce is an expression of this exaggerated self-will. Let it be remembered, however, that no emancipation ever takes place without producing evils of this kind. When independence and the assertion of rights are in the air, there is sure to be some who become acutely conscious of their rights before they realize their duties. The marriage of persons of a dilated ego unwilling to bear or sacrifice for the sake of preserving the union cannot but result in disaster.

THE PROSPECT

It has been calculated that if the movement toward divorce retains its present velocity, in forty years one marriage in four will end by divorce, and in eighty years one marriage in two. No one who understands the vital rôle of the family in a healthy society anticipates any such disastrous outcome. Already there are in sight certain influences that are likely to moderate the headlong movement. The industrial and intellectual emancipation of women will, of course, complete itself. But the old despotic ideal of the family will die out of men's minds and cease to be a breeder of conjugal discord. The dis-

trust of institutions can hardly go much further. It is likely that the public, as it wins a deeper insight into the services of the family to society and to the race, will feel less sympathy with the wrong-doings, weaknesses and whims that shatter it. Individualism, too, is probably at its zenith. In the discussion of human relations we are likely to hear less of the radical and more of the ethical note. In proportion as the emancipated are led to an ethical view of life, they will cease to regard marriage simply as a fair weather arrangement with personal happiness in constant view. They will recognize its inexorable demands for patience and self-control, for loyalty through sorrow and sickness, through misfortune and the aging years.

REMEDIES

The fact that accelerated divorce is produced by the modern social situation rather than by moral decay does not make it any less the symptom of a great evil. That one marriage in ten openly fails calls for vigorous effort to lessen the number of bad marriages. The school should instruct girls in the domestic arts which supply the material basis of the home. There

should be systematic instruction of youth in the ethics and ideals of the family. The fact that the likelihood of divorce is in inverse proportion to the length of time the parties were acquainted before marriage suggests the wisdom of requiring a formal declaration of intention to marry some weeks before a marriage license will be issued. Law or custom ought to devise some means of protecting pure women from marriage with men infected from vice. A way may be found to detect and punish the husbands who desert their families. Finally, the fact that intemperance figures in nearly a fifth of the divorces ought to invigorate the temperance movement in all its branches.

V

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

THERE are about five million women engaged in gainful occupations in the United States. This number is increasing much more rapidly than is the general population. The reason why women in such great numbers are coming into our shops and factories is not because of a restlessness which makes them impatient with the walls of home and carries them out into regions of danger and strain, but simply because the factory has been invading the home and has snatched out almost every useful task that used to be performed there. In the home there still remains the preparation of food and the rearing of children; but the preparation of garments, the preparation of all sorts of household linen, the large number of industries that used to be carried on in the homes have vanished, and the young women have had to follow them up and pursue these occupations where they are now being conducted — in the factory.

They are not forced into factories because of economic condition?

Formerly women, by their indoor occupations or the things they created there, were adding a very important element to the support of the family, but with the vanishing of these industries the woman has to go out after a job.

It is important to remember, not only that there are about five million of these laboring women, but that a very large number of them are young. You have not an army of women permanently enlisted in the field of labor. That is not the idea. A very large number of them are young women who will marry. If they did not marry there would have to be a vast increase of celibacy in this country. In the country at large about one-third of the single women between the ages of 15 and 25 are engaged in occupations outside their homes; and in the cities about 50 per cent.; so that very nearly half of all the single young women in the country are at work. Between the ages of 25 and 35, about one-fifth of the number are so engaged. What does that mean? It means that they are being married — vanishing into homes; that their lives are changed, that they are being rescued from the factories. So you must think of a great and increasing proportion of the young women who are

destined to become wives and the mothers of the next generation, coming for about five years under the influence of the factory and store. Now, there they come under conditions which are not controlled by people who love them. In their homes they are surrounded by conditions shaped by affection. The moment they are married they pass into another home and there find conditions shaped by affection. But during that interval when they are out earning money, somewhere in the years between 15 and 25, they are under conditions not shaped by anybody who has any interest whatever in them. They go up against the rivalry of employers for profit. Who is to protect them during that epoch? As things are at present they have to protect themselves. There is no father and mother to protect them; no husband. Can they protect themselves? Hardly. In the first place is the girl of 17 to 20 aware of what protection means? She values wages. Possibly she will strike for higher wages; but is she aware of what that standing all day is doing to her? Is she aware of what sitting on that seat without any back is doing to her? Is she aware of what that breathless rush is doing to her? Not at all. Against

these things she will make no protest. She is not aware of what is happening to her. To tell the truth, she is not a competent guardian of her future life.

Even if she were a competent guardian, this rattle-brained girl with a modicum of education and very little knowledge of hygiene — even if she did understand the laws of health and did realize exactly what happens to her when she is subjected for ten or twelve hours a day to the pace dictated by machinery, she would, nevertheless, in many cases be powerless to influence conditions for the better. The reason is simply this: When people have options so that they can reject an unattractive proposition, they can improve their condition. If a girl is offered a task which is to be performed under a constant strain, or in an unsanitary place, and there is some other paying work she can do in place of accepting that job, then she is in a position to defend her health and her comfort if she values them.

The options people have depend, for one thing, upon how much they are ahead. A person who has something laid by so that he can afford to take a risk and allow for an idle three months

is in a much better position to throw up a job which he feels is undermining his health than is the person who does not dare face two weeks without wages. A civil engineer who happens to be idle is invited to go to Panama. He realizes that going to Panama involves the risk that he may die of the fever, and he declines the offer. With perhaps a whole year before him in which to secure a position, he is vastly more independent than the man who has only three months, and he can reject an offer that seems to involve a risk. And the person who has three months in which to look around is far better off than the person who can only take three weeks. And the girl who has no money but her weekly wage, from which there is and can be no surplus, has no option at all. The more you get people in the position where they have no option, where they dare not let go, where they are afraid if they let this job go they may not get another job quick enough — the more helpless they are and the more easily you can impose on them. If the laundryman says, "We expect you to work all night to get out this big order we have promised," the girls have to accept the situation. If he says, "You have got to work all day Sunday,"

they must obey no matter how exhausted they are.

The smaller the margin between one's resources and one's necessities the more helpless one is, the more unmurmuringly one has to accept whatever conditions are laid down. And so in the stratum of labor in which there is no space, no margin, between necessary expenses and income, you get people that may sometimes be driven almost as slaves are driven; you get a situation that is incompatible with a Christian civilization.

Not only has an increasing number of women who are to become wives and mothers in the future been brought into conditions controlled by people who have no interest in their futures; but these conditions are becoming more and more taxing. There was a time when a group of work people were speeded up by having a pace-maker. A girl would be paid to hurry things up, thus giving a leverage to rush the pace of others. Still, there was always a limit to the speed that pace-maker could impose. But with the coming in of machinery you can, by means of the machine, dictate the rate at which the girls must work. They then have to keep up with the ma-

chine or drop out. And so, by speeding up the machinery, you bring about a situation where young people are kept at the tightest possible tension, are keyed up to the utmost. At that point you get something more than a strain upon muscles; you get a strain upon nerves. There is a certain natural pace one can keep up. Force the pace and you get weariness. A man can go for hours at the rate of five miles an hour; he can run at the rate of six miles an hour for quite a long while; but if he tries to run eight miles an hour he will drop out very soon. I once was secretary of a national organization and, rather than go down town to the stenographic bureau to dictate my letters, I formed the habit of writing them myself at high speed. In that one year I incurred a neurasthenia that it took four years to overcome. Not that I had done so much work. I probably had done one-third more than I would normally. It was the pace that told.

There is universal testimony that the pace of industry was never so great as now. Take the number of stitches that your sewing machines in the shops are setting. Machines that in 1899 were setting twenty-two hundred a minute were

in 1905 setting just twice as many. In those years the pace has been doubled; and, moreover, some of the machines set several rows of stitches at a time. In cotton factories how many looms is a workman supposed to tend? One loom, two, three, four, and finally you get up to six or seven I have been told. In the stock yards you can take the number of carcasses a man was expected to split in an hour during the last twenty years and see the increase that has been made, not through any extraneous aid but through keying up the pace.

For my part, I do not know what is going to be the outcome of this tendency toward the double-quick. It is a real puzzle to me. For the present there is one thing I see to be done, and that is to compensate for this superhuman pace by shortening the time. A certain pace may be endured through an eight-hour day that cannot be endured for a ten-hour day.

Now, what is the effect of working young women, usually in a standing position, at a rate dictated by machinery at high speed? I cannot go into details here; but there is no question that unless they are extraordinarily strong it is draining them of that stamina and vitality which

ought to be saved to enable them to meet successfully the strains and burdens of wifehood and motherhood. Girls may endure this thing for, say, five years, but in what condition do they pass into the home? Have they the resources of vitality for meeting the absolutely inevitable strains of the home that they ought to have? We know that long hours, in the confinement of the factory, with the nerves continually frayed by the noise, with the sickening smell of the machine oil, often with too great heat and impure dust-laden air, standing at machinery going a relentless pace, produces a general deterioration of the physical tone. Standing causes various disorders: varicose veins and displacements; the confinement produces anemia and the general undermining of the system fosters a tendency to tuberculosis. Even if nothing tragic happens before the time when that young woman is handed over to the young man who loves her to become a wife and the mother of a family, it will later be found that she cannot meet the tests. Cannot you imagine what will happen with the first baby, or the second baby? A rapid collapse often occurs — not early death perhaps, but dragging years of misery, of in-

ability to be a helpmate, inability to rear a full-sized family, inability to bring into the world children with their proper share of stamina and vitality. You can see that society is paying pretty heavily for the service the girl rendered to industry during those few years of mill work. And think of the discouraging situation of the young man who, after he has been married two or three years, finds he has a wife who at the age of 28 or 30 has broken down, become a miserable invalid, suffering aches and pains all the time and unable to keep the home attractive. Think of him having to face twenty, thirty years of it, and all because of what? Because of just a few extra dollars added to the profits of the employer or a few extra dollars saved to the consumer of the goods she has helped to make!

You see that sort of thing is waste; it is eating up capital. For health and vitality are capital to the laborer. When a person is worn out society says: "We feel that we are obliged to take this burden on our shoulders and see that nobody actually starves," and so, whatever human wreckage is created by this excessive haste and these excessive hours of industry is not borne by the industry that created it, but is just

coolly rolled on to the broad shoulders of society — for the sake of pennies, creating burdens that will cost dollars.

Now, whatever wreckage is created by these conditions tends to spread out. It leaves results in a progeny that does not start in life with a fair chance, a progeny born tired because the mother was fagged when she bore them. Hence you have people becoming vagrants, or idlers, or paupers in many cases, instead of being self-supporting men and women. Start people without a fair show in life, and they cannot endure to the end. In the thirties, maybe, the sag or break will come. Unable to meet conditions, they cannot keep up the pace and they drop back. Once they fall upon the feather mattress of charity, once they lose their self-respect, they are perfectly happy and comfortable, perfectly willing to lie upon the pocketbook of society.

There is another consideration. Society can have the kind of women it wants. Take the women of eastern Prussia, for instance. These peasant women bear a child in the morning; in the afternoon they are out in the field. There the women work right along beside the men. I

have seen them and what a type are they? Squat, splay-footed, wide-backed, flat-breasted, broad-faced, short-necked — a type that lacks every grace that we associate with woman. For that is the only type that could survive under the harsh conditions that have prevailed there for centuries. Now, there will not be a disappearance of the race if we extend no hand to help these working girls. What will happen will be that the girls of the distinctly feminine type, the girls who have the qualities of fineness, grace and charm, will prove too fragile to meet the conditions. They will collapse and go to the bad, they will lose their health, or, if they endure until they are married and become mothers, they will not be able to be mothers of full families of sons and daughters that will endure to the end.

But some there would be who could stand the conditions. And of what type would they be? They would be of this other type — the type that appears in those peasant women. In three or four generations we could have in this country, all through the lower stratum, that coarse type replacing the high-strung, high-bred, feminine type which is our pride, and which ex-

tends up and down through all layers of society in this country. Do we want to have that differentiation of physique? Do we want to have a reversion, down in the stratum that has to work with its hands, of the feminine form to the masculine peasant type, to that Flemish-mare type that has lost the charm and grace of woman?

What can be done about it?

In the first place, it cannot be cured by individual action on the part of the girls themselves. People who are getting twenty dollars a week can probably exercise a certain control over the conditions under which they work. People who have options, who can afford to let go and look about them, can oblige the employer to bring the job to the point of attractiveness. But this stratum of girls who are not highly skilled, who are learners, and who are driven by machinery, have no margin with which to fight to improve conditions, and even if they did have the margin they do not know what conditions they ought to have to protect themselves. Nor can they fight for these conditions by collective action, because most of these young women are not in a position to wield the labor

organization to the same extent and to do with it the same things that men are able to. Why not? For one thing, they are *women,* and just because of that their attitude toward unpleasant features in their situation is less aggressive and resentful than that of men. Men are always more willing to strike back, to make some sort of struggle against crushing conditions than are women, because it is their nature. And again, these young women have not had a long-enough experience and observation of industry to realize what organization might do for them. They do not believe in it; they are not far-sighted enough; they know too little of economics. Again, they do not struggle to improve the conditions under which they work because there is always that door on beyond, the door that may be opened by marriage. "What's the use? Next year I may be married, and it wouldn't make any difference." There is always that possible exit — an exit that for a vast number of them is not an exit. Young women will not pay dues, will not incur the risk of losing their jobs by making an effort to lay down conditions to employers as will men, who know that their lives long they will have to be

workers and that therefore it is to their interest to look ahead and try to shape the conditions they will encounter year after year indefinitely.

Nor can you cure this situation by appealing to the humanity of the employers. If the particular employer is a monopolist, or has some advantage over all his competitors, then you may work upon his humanity, and, if he chooses to give good conditions to those girls, he can do so. But when he has lively competition, the humane employer is obliged to conform to the practice of his competitors. A laundryman may hate to keep the girls after six or on Sunday, or to work them beyond their strength; nevertheless for him the price of laundering is fixed by the cost of it in other laundries where all these things are done, and he is obliged to conform in order to keep his business. The great law in business competition is that the plane of practice will be determined by what the least scrupulous man who succeeds in the business is willing to adopt. That determines the plane to which the rest are obliged to approximate. But some may suggest, "Can't you get the employers as a body to change conditions?" That is a frail reed to lean on. You may get most of them

to agree that the pace which they are inflicting upon these young women is too hard, and yet, if one man in ten does not look at it that way and persists in the old methods with his help, the other nine-tenths of the employers will be helpless. They cannot coerce him. He can oblige them to conform to him, whereas they can not oblige him to conform to them. What recourse, then, have you left? There is nothing left except the will of organized society expressing itself in law. There is absolutely nothing else.

Now what will happen if society decrees a certain standard working day suited to the health and strength of the average young woman, so that the destruction of her vitality and stamina through overstrain would be the rare exception? Will anything dire happen? Will the linchpins of industry fall out? Will things go to smash? Not at all. One of two things will happen. In industries which are monopolies there will be less profit for employers. In industries which are not monopolies the consumers will have to pay a little more. The fact is, we as consumers are enjoying some things on terms to which we have no right. We have no right to

have artificial flowers at the price we get them; we have no right to get our laundry done so cheaply as it often is; we have no right to anything that has not paid the full bill. When you buy a keg of powder, you pay not only for the cost of making that powder, but part of the cost of all the powder that blew up accidentally, and, once every seven years, you and other buyers have to pay for the mill itself, because on an average once in seven years the whole thing is blown up. Queer, is n't it, that in paying for the powder you get you also pay for powder which you never get. But a stranger thing is that you do not pay anything at all for the men who are destroyed when the mills blow up. When you buy coal you pay for a fraction of all the damage by explosions in that mine, but nothing for the arms and legs of the human beings who are wrecked. Is it right that there should be charged in the cost of the products of industry only the wreckage of property but not the wreckage of human beings? Is it right for us to get some products so cheaply that only the part of the cost has been covered? The part that we exempt employers from feeling is not passed on. If we oblige employers to meet

certain humane conditions the cost will be added in, passed on to us, and paid by us.

Some say, "Oh, but such laws infringe that great principle of freedom of contract!" The young woman is willing to work through half the night in this laundry rather than lose her job. The law steps in and says, "No, she shall not do it." Harsh, is n't it? There was a time when a man, if he had to borrow money to keep body and soul together, had a legal right to sell himself into slavery as security for money with which to buy bread for his family and himself. He had the right to promise, "If I do not repay that money by the stipulated date I will become your slave." This produced debt-slavery, which nearly wrecked early Greece and Rome, but finally came a statesman who decreed that forever more no man should have the legal right to pawn himself. Do you realize that you have not that right to-day; that throughout the civilized world that right is denied? They have that right in Sumatra and the Malay states to-day, but all the men of the white race have lost that ineffably precious right of a man to put himself in pawn. Pity, is n't it? But we seem to get along pretty well, do we not? We don't

seem anxious to borrow that freedom from the Malay states or Sumatra. So I think nothing very serious will happen if, on the ground that we have an interest larger than her interest, we deny a girl the right to sell more than a limited number of hours of labor per day. Society looks ahead, and she does not. And so perhaps, if we invade that principle of freedom of contract, nothing very terrible will happen because, after all, it is not real freedom that is at stake, but only a formal freedom.

For the last twenty years I have been devoting all my effort to getting deeper into the principles of social organization, the principles by which human beings can work together with the greatest success and happiness; and I can look back to the time when I thought that certain abstract principles were the thing; that we did not have to consider what degree of happiness they gave to people, but that planting ourselves upon these immutable principles, we should just shut our eyes, go ahead, and all would be well. I assure you the older I grow and the more I explore different social systems the more fluid these principles become, until now, in social policy, I do not see anything at stake but the welfare of men, and women and children.

VI

COMMERCIALISM RAMPANT

COUSIN JIM was bragging of his prosperity since he had removed to this Northwestern mining town, but Lucy looked up from her sewing. "Yes," she said, "I know my husband makes twice as much here as he did in the old home. But then his rheumatism is worse, the altitude gets on our nerves, it is hard to raise flowers, the schools are not so good, we miss the sight of the peaks, and I can't visit father and mother so often."

Here you have the contrast between the commercial view and the human view. The man thinks the worth of existence is measured by the money one can lay out. The woman with her keen sense for reality knows that only a part of one's well-being comes that way. There are goods one cannot buy because they depend on general conditions. They are *the non-economic goods.*

A student of mine investigating agriculture

in Mississippi asked a farmer near the state capital, who had had great success in breeding fine milch cows, why he did n't run a dairy and double his income. "No," he replied, "I don't want to have a business that will tie me down so I can't hitch up and go off with my family to a barbecue now and then." Was this man a fool — or a philosopher?

Those who are business men — and nothing more — slip easily into the fallacy of rating well-being by dollar income. What this type of man most longs for is not *welfare,* but *prosperity.* The wealth he habitually considers is bankable wealth. Values that are not pecuniary values strike him as moonshine. His ideal condition is high wages, big salaries and fat dividends; and any movement or policy that stands in the way of maximizing these "hurts business" and is anathema.

"Come out to the ward meeting to-night and help us push for purer city water," I said once to my neighbor, a young furniture merchant. "Can't spare the time," was the reply; "too busy hustling for business." When, three months later, his little daughter was convalescing from a long and expensive illness of typhoid

fever, it may have dawned upon him that some things need attention besides business!

Such a man is the last to recognize that business, if its claims be pressed too relentlessly, may cut away big non-economic values, that there are business profits that cost ten times their worth of salubrity or quiet or natural beauty or civic conscience. He sees business made lively in his town by the "wide open" policy; he is blind to the ruin of boys and the wreck of homes. He deprecates the great "clean-up" movement in government. "Oh, yes, our house is dirty, to be sure, but then sweeping raises such a dust, and dust is disturbing to business!" He grumbles at the anti-smoke ordinance that obliges manufacturers to spend a hundred thousand dollars in suppressing smoke that would destroy a million dollars worth of comfort, and echoes the railroad president who says: "The smoke-laden air of every city is but a testimonial of the general prosperity of the country." He naturally sympathizes with the retort of the paper manufacturers to the cry for free paper: "If we could not have newspapers of the present size, style and price, without driving out our paper indus-

try, which alternative would be better for the country — a larger wage-fund or smaller papers?"

COMMERCIALISM IS NOT SELFISHNESS NOR MATERIALISM

It is not a matter of *selfishness*. The commercialized man shows this bias when other men's profits — not his own profits — are at stake. Tell him of the forests of half a mountain state blighted by the arsenic fumes from giant smelters and he replies it would cut copper dividends to get rid of these fumes. To him the cost we impose on the railroads by obliging them to elevate their tracks is a tragic thing; but the racking anxiety of mothers who are obliged daily to send their children to school over grade crossings appeals to him not at all. Outside of office hours men of this type are as humane and public-spirited as other people. But their point of view makes them side with profits when humanity and public spirit stand in their way. They are victims of a fallacy.

Nor is commercialism the same thing as *materialism*. One need not be crass of soul to be smitten with this blindness. A man may take

the demands of his business as the Voice from Sinai, yet lay out his profits in stained glass, in public libraries or in sending the Gospel to the heathen.

My point is that there is a psychology of business which hinders its victims from seeing things in their true proportions. This is the more serious because the commercial view is spreading and threatens to become our national way of thinking.

THE ASCENDANCY OF BUSINESS IDEALS

For, in sooth, business men are in the saddle. It is settled that no man who does not bear the O. K. of business men can ever be elected president. A candidate's trump card is the promise of a "business" administration. "Success" has come to mean the same as "business success," that is, making money. Often one hears "You can't run business on religious principles," but never "You can't run religion on business principles." The highest compliment you can pay a philanthropy, an educational scheme, or a missionary project is to pronounce it "business-like"; whereas a man is insulted if you pronounce his business "philanthropic," or "edu-

cational," or "missionary-like." We have a new moral type — the sheep in wolf's clothing — for the employer who provides rest-rooms and seats with backs for his working girls feels obliged to dissemble his humanity by pretending he does it "simply to augment output!"

Our school board must, of course, be a "business board," *i.e.,* one that bothers little with the problems of teaching the children, but knows how to keep teachers in their places and get the lowest bids on text books and coal. For a while it was considered fitting that such amiable visionaries as scholars should be picked and officered by a business man as university president. More and more the solid men of business are looked to to finance the philanthropies, support the churches, and endow the colleges; for beside their dollars how paltry look the nickels of the other sorts of successful men!

Among Americans business ideals are not held in check by the influence of a landed aristocracy. In most of the Old World the leading social class despises the trader's point of view and prides itself on appreciating things from the enjoyer's view point. The standard for judging a thing or an activity is not how much it fetches,

but how much it adds to the worth of life. Since this aristocratic emphasis on living rather than on money-making leeches down through the general community, commercialism is in Europe more confined to the business class.

THE BANISHING OF "SENTIMENT" FROM BUSINESS

The escape of business from the control of human sentiment and conscience has been aided by new forms of management. Most important enterprises are now organized as corporations, which means that the owners are not the same persons as the managers. Of such there are reckoned sixty-seven hundred (exclusive of banking and insurance companies) with a capitalization of thirty-six billions. Every year sees the stock-holders on whose behalf the enterprise is conducted more numerous, more scattered, more shepherded by the big insiders, more ignorant of the business they draw dividends from. Then, as if to eliminate the personal element altogether, between the men who provide the money and the men who run the business there is interposed the financial institution in the form of savings bank, trust company or

insurance company. Moreover, when the business passes out of personal or local hands and is offered in shares to the general investing public, the Big Men have carefully seen to it that the stock is watered to the limit, so that frequently nothing but the most avaricious, ruthless, and aggressive management can enable the stock to pay ordinary returns to the innocent investors.

Now, the manager under this system has invented a marvelous device for transmitting this remorseless pressure to the superintendents under him. This is the weekly cost statement. For example, the head of each lard room in a group of affiliated packing plants files at the office a statement from which can be figured the exact cost-per-unit of his output. This enables the management to compare a man's showing on a given week with the performance of his predecessors, with his own previous performance, and with the performance of the heads of other lard departments. If the comparison is in the least unfavorable to him, the superintendent is warned, and if his showing does not soon improve he loses his job. Such cost-checking keys up technical efficiency, but it also forces bosses to go to the limit in driving labor or deteriorat-

ing product for the sake of a dollar of gain.

The Pittsburgh Survey tells us how this device worked in the steel industry. "When a mill broke a record, the men who accomplished the feat were praised, . . . while the superintendents of other mills taunted their men with the disgrace of being beaten. This would rouse all the skilled men to greater activity, and another mill would establish a new record." "They kept raising the pace until finally, when it had reached a very high point, the superintendent told them that, having demonstrated their ability to produce that much steel, it would thereafter be expected of them. Consequently, the system is well established to-day. Superintendent is pitted against superintendent, foremen against foremen, mill against mill." "In all the speeding up, superintendent and foreman are major factors. If one superintendent does not make good, some other can." The result of this system was thus deliberately summed up by the distinguished political economist in charge of the Pittsburgh investigation before the assembled economists of America: "The mass of workers in the steel industry are driven as large numbers of laborers, whether slave or free,

have scarcely before in human history been driven."

Seeing that such cross comparison of costs is a favorite means of the trust for leveling up efficiency in its various scattered plants, and seeing that there are seven great industrial trusts controlling over sixteen hundred plants and three hundred lesser trusts controlling over five thousand plants, it is clear that *a large and increasing part of the industry of the country is being driven ahead under this savage spur.*

Look, now, at some of the outcroppings of this business fallacy in our American life.

HEROES OF SUCCESS

If all the blessings are to be had for money and if nothing is to be had for nothing, we may well idolize those who put dollars into our pockets. So the man who pays the salaries and wages that keep many families is hailed as the chief public benefactor. We will grant him almost anything in the way of free site, free use of public property, bonus, tax exemption or tariff protection. If his refinery taints the air, if his chimneys smut the sky, if his waste poisons our streams, we tolerate it. For what if he should

get cross and quit? Does he demand the right to hire and work as he pleases our children and young women? Quick, deny him nothing, he might sulk or move to another state! Does he object to those union pickets on the street corner talking to his strike breakers? Then let our bluecoats sweep them out of the street. Human rights? Shucks!

Do we thus admire and coddle those whose dividends are in benefits, not cash? The daring surgeon who establishes a new operation, the bacteriologist who finds the serum for some virulent disease, the experimenter whose table shows the way to the conquest of the air, the plant-breeder who creates more luscious varieties of fruits, the civilizer of a tribe of savages, the translator of the Bible into a strange tongue, the founder of a great social settlement, the inventor of a better method of teaching the deaf — these, alas, are not the men "who do things." For they give blessings, mere blessings, not money!

THE EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Obsessed by the business fallacy, we placed, of course, no restriction on the exploitation of

the public domain, the heritage of posterity, upon which alone can rest our hope of national permanence. What if our natural gas was riotously used up, and our petroleum, instead of being husbanded for our grandchildren, is being spread to the four corners of the earth as fast as commercial genius can do it! Posterity, when it contemplates the dry holes in the ground, can reflect that at least *we* had money to burn. What if fifty years will see an end to our anthracite! Did n't the gay patrons of New York restaurants swallow forty thousand quarts of champagne last New Year's Eve? What if, in our "hurry-up" mining, more coal is wasted than is used! Have n't we more and bigger millionaires than any other people? What if we are within sixty years of "good-bye, iron ore!" Were there ever such hotels, such steam yachts, such alimonies as ours? On with the dance!

THE WASTE OF LIFE AND LIMB

No matter who may be hurt, the maxim of business seems to be "Full steam ahead!" Before the recent panic our railroads were killing annually in round numbers ten thousand and hurting a hundred thousand. One trainman out

of eight is injured during the year. Formerly one brakeman out of eighty was killed. Among our workers it is estimated that over half a million a year are killed or so maimed as to be partially or wholly incapacitated for work. An inventor says, "If I produce a device to save time, I can sell it readily in twenty places, but if I offer an idea for saving life I cannot dispose of it at all." Safety appliances had to be forced on the railroads by law, and safety fenders are rarely provided for street cars save under compulsion. In Europe there are ten "museums of security," where safety appliances are exhibited in operation. For years government and societies there have been offering prizes to stimulate the invention of such devices. Compared with their partly humanized industry, our industry shows double the number of casualties it ought to show.

A packer was showing a prominent settlement worker about his plant. They entered an inner room with double doors and without windows or ventilation, the walls and ceiling dripping with moisture, where, in a temperature of 38°, fifteen young women were trimming hams. The temperature was carefully kept the same as that

of the chilling-room from which the meat came and to which it was returned. "You see we waste nothing here," he said, "not even heat." "Nothing," she replied, "but the health of girls!"

IMMIGRATION

In thirty years there has been a great shifting in the sources of our immigration from Northwestern Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe. The newer immigrants are six to ten times as illiterate as the older. They come, most of them, from practical motives, and, thanks to cheaper ocean passage, from humbler strata. Members of stock and races that have been elbowed aside in the swayings of the mightier races, many of them have neither the mental capacity nor the stability of character of the West-European breeds.

Who wants this element? Not labor, whom it displaces. Not the farmers, who limit their families when they see the opportunities that ought to be reserved for posterity seized by aliens. Not the professional classes, with their abhorrence of dirt, disease and disorder. Not the fourteen millions already here, most of whom

are anxious enough to close the door. Save a handful of distinguished humanitarians, nobody wants them but certain business men — the mine-owner, the mill-owner, the contractor, the railway people, the steamship companies. To give these gentlemen cheap labor or a full steerage, the race welfare has, so far, been unhesitatingly sacrificed.

THE PANDERING INTERESTS

The commercialization of vice is the key to our recent sumptuary history. For vice is harder to uproot now that people have ceased to gratify their harmful appetites by their own enterprise. Gone is the conversion of peaches into brandy, the distilling of rye into whiskey, *for home consumption.* To-day you buy your poisons, and every vice has behind it a business interest.

Then, combination has been going on among vice-caterers. The saloon keepers are often mere agents of the big brewers, the tobacconists clerks of the tobacco trust. The prostitute is not for herself, but is owned by some "madam" who, in turn, may be under a syndicate that maintains a chain of brothels and recruits its

girls through an organized and far-reaching white slave traffic.

Thus banded, a pandering interest is far more formidable. The preacher, editor, or prosecutor who assails a noxious local traffic is amazed to behold the forces that line up against him. He strikes at a groggery and collides with distant brewers, tackles a pool-room and finds himself confronted with a telegraph company, aims at a bucket-shop and uncovers a syndicate. For the village vice-caterer has become the tentacle of an octopus.

Once concentrated, a pandering interest enters on an aggressive campaign to "develop business." By advertising, circulars, posters, and free samples, it seeks to recruit new customers, especially among the young. Old-time tobacco was as inert as maple sugar; but trustified tobacco has been known to tempt boys with cigarettes sold under cost and put up in packages containing suggestive pictures to stimulate buying. The hard cider of yore was about as pushful as hen's eggs; but to-day there are decoctions that snare the sweat-won dollars from the pockets of the negro field-hand by an obscene title coupled with a picture of a naked white woman

on the label. What if this gin does breed rapes and lynchings! "Business is business."

Those who would check the insidious moral gangrene soon find that, like St. Paul at Ephesus, they have collided with a commercial interest. For example, a certain society of social hygiene issues decent unsensational pamphlets of warning against the venereal peril. When the society sought to circulate its pamphlets in the red-light district policemen interfered at first on the ground that they were "hurting business" and "scaring away customers." Persuade moonshiners from their whiskey, and nobody objects; it is not a staple of commerce. But lure away patrons from an organized traffic and you will have trouble. Essay regulation, and you will find the profits from a soul-destroying business are just as hard to kill as the profits from a legitimate business. Liquor dealers, dive-keepers and gamblers will fight righteous restrictions just as desperately as haberdashers would fight wicked restrictions. And they win sympathizers, too, for, after all, the open vice-shop brings people to town, you know. What applause was there on Commercial Street when the mayor of O—— declared in defense of his

"lid off" policy. "I want O—— to be a town where a stranger can have some fun!"

THE SACRIFICE OF BEAUTY AND QUIET

Speeding through the solemn wilderness traversed by the Canadian Pacific Railway, I once saw against a background of shaggy pines a colossal sign. "Use Scrubem's Tooth Powder." Had we passengers felt proper resentment, we would have avoided that tooth powder to the end of our days. But, idolators of "enterprise" that we are, we never think of boycotting those who fling their business in our faces at inopportune moments. In the city every accessible spot where the eye may wander frantically proclaims the merits of somebody's pickles or Scotch whiskey. At night giant illuminated letters notify you of a safety razor, flashing and vanishing lights tell of a hair tonic, or a beam of living light writes on the sky the name of somebody's malted milk! As you leave the city, you behold from the car window effigies of animals dotting the meadows and calling attention to a catsup or a toilet soap. Follow the country lane, the forest path or the trout brook, and you find fences, barns, trees and boulders

shouting to you of pills, fly-screens and canned soup. All this shameless uglifying sells not a penny-worth more of goods and could easily be stopped. Why, then, should a man be allowed to violently seize and wrench my attention every time I step out of doors, to flash his wares into my brain with a sign, or blare them into my ear with a band? Simply because, with us, the business man's eagerness to sell his goods is a sacred passion, and nothing may stand in the way of its satisfaction.

POLITICS

Municipal government is said to be the one great political failure of the American people. But is it? Is the rottenness in so many cities due to the will or the neglect of the citizen? A government that expresses the character of the masses is liable to be jingoistic, spread-eagle, noisy and wasteful. But when you find a government that is sordid, brutal and corrupt, it exists not *because of* the people, *but in spite of* them. The situation in San Francisco, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Cincinnati may show that the citizens there are timid and ineffective; it does not prove them vicious and venal.

But if these wicked city administrations do not represent the people, what then, do they represent? Why, business, especially certain kinds of business. Says Mr. Steffens, "My gropings into the misgovernment of cities have drawn me everywhere, but always, always out of politics into business. Business started the corruption of politics in Pittsburgh, upholds it in Philadelphia, boomed with it in Chicago, and withered with its reform, and in New York business financed the return of Tammany Hall. Here, then, is our guide out of the labyrinth. Not the political ring, but big business — that is the crux of the situation."

Now, it is not surprising that vice-caterers should corrupt the police and that franchise-seeking corporations should buy councilmen. But why should men in a straight, clean business, decent respectable men, pillars of society, not hypocrites but good men who by their givings have demonstrated their interest in the welfare of their fellows, "go along" and be silent while their city is harried by a ravening pack of corruptionists? Is it not that "business" is a word to conjure with? Is it not that, so vital to the common welfare has it been supposed to

be that enterprises should expand freely, that good men felt themselves justified in countenancing any situation demanded by Big Business?

EDUCATION

Our education is not commercialized, but is it not a fact that all the far-sighted educators are worrying lest this new and promising movement for industrial education be captured by men with business ideals and become a device for supplying merchants and manufacturers with cheap labor skilled at the public expense?

RELIGION

Since the parable of the Widow's Mite religion cannot be commercialized, though, to be sure, Mr. Rockefeller does hold up the Kingdom of Heaven as a field for remunerative investment when he tells his Sunday School class, "According as you put something in, the greater will be your dividends of salvation." Nevertheless, the Church senses the business obsession of our time and shrinks from taking a stand that might bring her into clash with the profits mania. For what is the evil the Church de-

nounces most uncompromisingly? Why, divorce! But there is no money in getting divorced — only alimony. And Sabbath-breaking — how inexorable she is about that — if it is n't too lucrative! Sunday games, sports, excursions — all anathema — and college students should not be called on to recite on Monday mornings lest they be tempted to study on Sunday! But never a remonstrance against the utter disappearance of Sunday from the steel industry. Then how firmly she insists that "In God we trust" be restored to our coins! But in this she has commercial support. Did not the pious president of one of the Standard Oil companies declare to his employees that he would confine himself to paper money and checks for the rest of his days rather than touch coins unhallowed by the sacred motto?

On the other hand, how cautious is the Church — as an organization — in taking a stand that may lift the bristles of a financial interest! There is the Behemoth of our time, and the Church knows it. She has nerved herself to antagonize certain minor disreputable businesses, such as liquor, race-track, and gambling. But — aside from child labor — has she

let drive at a full-grown Business Proposition like night work by women, "speeding up," the eighty-four-hour week, or the waste of life and limb in industry? Faithlessness? Cowardice? No. Only the natural reluctance of the vase to come into collision with the kettle.

REMEDIES

I have shown that in unfettered business lurk certain bad tendencies which business men are slow to perceive and resist, and that, owing to a too-ready acceptance of the views of the commercial group, Americans frequently permit the sacrifice of a non-economic interest when it happens to stand in the path of Business.

What are the remedies?

Attack the business policy in its citadels — in Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, in trade associations and trade journals. It has often been observed that in the United States commercial pursuits attract a larger share of the national ability than in other countries. For this reason one finds among American business men an unusual number of big, statesmanlike minds capable of grasping and applying the welfare idea, once it is presented to them.

Show the impolicy of the people accepting meekly the leadership of any single group. Once we were led by the clergy, then by the lawyers, then by the business men. Each group had failings of its own and misled the people sometimes into quicksands and waste places. Let the people harken a little less to commercial magnates and a little more to geologists, economists, physicians, teachers, and social workers.

Enlighten the public as to its real and permanent interests. What has already been accomplished along this line is most encouraging. For years we have had a President who thinks in terms of welfare instead of wealth, a man as elemental and uncommercial as Daniel Boone or Davy Crockett, yet withal a scholar, familiar with the ideas of the far-sighted thinkers who are beseeching people to look at matters from the standpoint of society and of posterity. Under his leadership the people have become aroused as to the use of natural resources, the conditions of meat-packing, the purity of foods, the hygiene of industry, industrial accidents, child labor, the protection of the family.

Organize centers of resistance to the encroach-

ments of the business interests. Associations such as the Consumers' League, the Immigration Restriction League, the Anti-Saloon League, the Forestry Association, the Child Labor Committee, the Women's Trade Union League, the National Public Health Association, create sound public sentiment and focus it at the critical moment at the points where it can be most effective. If only philanthropists would provide adequate funds for their investigation and publicity work, these associations might stand more nearly on a footing with the greedy interests they are trying to balk.

Combat aggressions on the public welfare by creating public commissions provided with adequate funds, such as fish and game commissions, public health boards, pure food commissions, the Conservation Commission, and the Country Life Commission.

Finally, install permanent machinery in the form of a *corps* of trained factory inspectors, food inspectors, sanitary agents, health officers, forest rangers, and the like, animated with the professional spirit and devoting themselves to carrying out the settled purpose of the community, even after the community has ceased to

think about the matter. Fear not lest Business will turn the tables on these regulators as soon as the public looks some other way. Take, for example, the newly constituted meat-inspection service. If the packers should get their man at the head of the Department of Agriculture and word should come to the thousand inspectors to "go easy," what would happen? Would the zealous graduates of our veterinary colleges close their eyes to the signs of disease in the carcasses gliding past them, sit tight and draw their salaries? Not at all. They would resign and protest in such numbers as to make the chloroforming of the service a blazing national scandal.

For there forms in your true expert a conscience that insists on his really doing the work for which he draws the wage.

VII

THE SUPPRESSION OF IMPORTANT NEWS

MOST of the criticism launched at our daily newspapers hits the wrong party. Granted they sensationalize vice and crime, "play up" trivialities, exploit the private affairs of prominent people, embroider facts, and offend good taste with screech, blare, and color. But all this may be only the means of meeting the demand, of "giving the public what it wants." The newspaper cannot be expected to remain dignified and serious now that it caters to the common millions, instead of, as formerly, to the professional and business classes. To interest errand-boy and factory-girl and raw immigrant, it had to become spicy, amusing, emotional, and chromatic. For these, blame, then, the American people.

There is just one deadly, damning count against the daily newspaper as it is coming to be, namely, *It does not give the news.*

For all its pretensions, many a daily news-

paper is not "giving the public what it wants." In spite of these widely trumpeted prodigies of costly journalistic "enterprise," these ferreting reporters and hurrying correspondents, these leased cables and special trains, news, good "live" news, "red-hot stuff," is deliberately being suppressed or distorted. This occurs oftener now than formerly, and bids fair to occur yet oftener in the future.

And this in spite of the fact that the aspiration of the press has been upward. Venality has waned. Better and better men have been drawn into journalism, and they have wrought under more self-restraint. The time when it could be said, as it was said of the Reverend Dr. Dodd, that one had "descended so low as to become editor of a newspaper," seems as remote as the Ice Age. The editor who uses his paper to air his prejudices, satisfy his grudges, and serve his private ambitions, is going out. Sobered by a growing realization of their social function, newspaper men have come under a sense of responsibility. Not long ago it seemed as if a professional spirit and a professional ethics were about to inspire the newspaper world; and to this end courses and schools of

journalism were established, with high hopes. The arrest of this promising movement explains why nine out of ten newspaper men of fifteen years' experience are cynics.

As usual, no one is to blame. The apostasy of the daily press is caused by three economic developments in the field of newspaper publishing.

CAPITALIST-OWNER SUPPLANTS EDITOR-OWNER

In the first place, the great city daily has become a blanket sheet with elaborate presswork, printed in mammoth editions that must be turned out in the least time. The necessary plant is so costly, and the Associated Press franchise is so expensive, that the daily newspaper in the big city has become a capitalistic enterprise. To-day a million dollars will not begin to outfit a metropolitan newspaper. The editor is no longer the owner, for he has not, and cannot command, the capital needed to start it or buy it. The editor of the type of Greeley, Dana, Medill, Story, Halstead, and Raymond, who owns his paper and makes it his astral body, the projection of his character and ideals, is rare. Perhaps Mr. Watterson and Mr. Nelson

are the best living representatives of the type.

More and more the owner of the big daily is a business man who finds it hard to see why he should run his property on different lines from the hotel proprietor, the vaudeville manager, or the owner of an amusement park. The editors are hired men, and they may put into the paper no more of their conscience and ideals than comports with getting the biggest return from the investment. Of course, the old-time editor who owned his paper tried to make money,— no sin that! — but just as to-day the author, the lecturer, or the scholar tries to make money, namely, within the limitations imposed by his principles and his professional standards. But, now that the provider of the newspaper capital hires the editor instead of the editor hiring the newspaper capital, the paper is likelier to be run as a money-maker pure and simple — a factory where ink and brains are so applied to white paper as to turn out the largest possible marketable product. The capitalist-owner means no harm, but he is not bothered by the standards that hamper the editor-owner. He follows a few simple maxims that work out well enough in selling shoes or cigars or sheet-music. "Give peo-

ple what *they* want, not what *you* want." "Back nothing that will be unpopular." "Run the concern for all it is worth."

This drifting of ultimate control into the hands of men with business motives is what is known as "the commercialization of the press."

ADVERTISING CENSORS THE NEWS

The significance of it is apparent when you consider the second economic development, namely, the growth of newspaper advertising. The dissemination of news and the purveyance of publicity are two essentially distinct functions which, for the sake of convenience, are carried on by the same agency. The one appeals to subscribers, the other to advertisers. The one calls for good faith, the other does not. The one is the corner-stone of liberty and democracy, the other a convenience of commerce. Now, the purveyance of publicity is becoming the main concern of the newspaper, and threatens to throw quite into the shade the communication of news or opinions. Every year the sale of advertising yields a larger proportion of the total receipts, and the subscribers furnish a smaller proportion. Thirty years ago, adver-

tising yielded less than half of the earnings of the daily newspapers. To-day, it yields at least two-thirds. In the larger dailies the receipts from advertisers are several times the receipts from the readers, in some cases constituting ninety per cent. of the total revenues. As the newspaper expands to eight, twelve, and sixteen pages, while the price sinks to three cents, two cents, one cent, the time comes when the advertisers support the newspaper. The readers are there to *read,* not to provide funds. "He who pays the piper calls the tune." When newscolumns and editorial page are a mere incident in the profitable sale of mercantile publicity, it is strictly "business-like" to let the big advertisers censor both.

Of course, you must not let the cat out of the bag, or you will lose readers, and thereupon advertising. As the publicity expert, Deweese, frankly puts it, "The reader must be flimflammed with the idea that the publisher is really publishing the newspaper or magazine for him." The wise owner will "maintain the beautiful and impressive bluff of running a journal to influence public opinion, to purify politics, to elevate public morals, etc." In the last

analysis, then, the smothering of facts in deference to the advertiser finds a limit in the intelligence and alertness of the reading public. Handled as "a commercial proposition," the newspaper dares not suppress such news beyond a certain point, and it can always proudly point to the unsuppressed news as proof of its independence and public spirit.

THE LENGTHENING PHALANX OF ADVERTISERS

The immunity enjoyed by the big advertiser becomes more serious as more kinds of business resort to advertising. Formerly, readers who understood why accidents and labor troubles never occur in department stores, why dramatic criticisms are so lenient, and the reviews of books from the publishers who advertise are so good-natured, could still expect from their journal an ungloved freedom in dealing with gas, electric, railroad, and banking companies. But now the gas people advertise, "Cook with gas," the electric people urge you to put your sewing-machine on their current, and the railroads spill oceans of ink to attract settlers or tourists. The banks and trust companies are buyers of space, investment advertising has sprung up like

Jonah's gourd, and telephone and traction companies are being drawn into the vortex of competitive publicity. Presently, in the news-columns of the sheet that steers by the cash-register, every concern that has favors to seek, duties to dodge, or regulations to evade, will be able to press the soft pedal.

THE "KEPT" NEWSPAPER

A third development is the subordination of newspapers to other enterprises. After a newspaper becomes a piece of paying property, detachable from the editor's personality, which may be bought and sold like a hotel or mill, it may come into the hands of those who will hold it in bondage to other and bigger investments. The magnate-owner may find it to his advantage not to run it as a newspaper pure and simple, but to make it — on the sly — an instrument for coloring certain kinds of news, diffusing certain misinformation, or fostering certain impressions or prejudices in its clientèle. In a word, he may shape its policy by non-journalistic considerations. By making his paper help his other schemes, or further his political or social ambitions, he will hurt it as a money-maker, no

doubt, but he may contrive to fool enough of the people enough of the time. Aside from such thraldom, newspapers are subject to the tendency of diverse businesses to become tied together by the cross-investments of their owners. But naturally, when the shares of a newspaper lie in the safe-deposit box cheek by jowl with gas, telephone, and pipe-line stock, a tenderness for these collateral interests is likely to affect the news-columns.

"KILLING" IMPORTANT NEWS

That in consequence of its commercialization, and its frequent subjection to outside interests, the daily newspaper is constantly suppressing important news, will appear from the instances that follow. They are hardly a third of the material that has come to the writer's attention.

A prominent Philadelphia clothier visiting New York was caught perverting boys, and cut his throat. His firm being a heavy advertiser, not a single paper in his home city mentioned the tragedy. One New York paper took advantage of the situation by sending over an extra edition containing the story. The firm in question has a large branch in a Western city.

There too the local press was silent, and the opening was seized by a Chicago paper.

In this same Western city the vice-president of this firm was indicted for bribing an alderman to secure the passage of an ordinance authorizing the firm to bridge an alley separating two of its buildings. Representatives of the firm requested the newspapers in which it advertised to ignore the trial. Accordingly the five English papers published no account of the trial, which lasted a week and disclosed highly sensational matter. Only the German papers sent reporters to the trial and published the proceedings.

In a great jobbing center, one of the most prominent cases of the United States District Attorney was the prosecution of certain firms for misbranding goods. The facts brought out appeared in the press of the smaller centers, but not a word was printed in the local papers. In another center, four firms were fined for selling potted cheese which had been treated with preservatives. The local newspapers stated the facts, but withheld the names of the firms, a consideration they are not likely to show to the ordinary culprit.

In a trial in a great city it was brought out by sworn testimony that, during a recent labor struggle which involved teamsters on the one hand and the department stores and the mail-order houses on the other, the employers had plotted to provoke the strikers to violence by sending a long line of strike-breaking wagons out of their way to pass a lot on which the strikers were meeting. These wagons were the bait to a trap, for a strong force of policemen was held in readiness in the vicinity, and the governor of the state was at the telephone ready to call out the militia if a riot broke out. Fortunately, the strikers restrained themselves, and the trap was not sprung. It is easy to imagine the headlines that would have been used if labor had been found in so diabolical a plot. Yet the newspapers unanimously refused to print this testimony.

In the same city, during a strike of the elevator men in the large stores, the business agent of the elevator-starters' union was beaten to death, in an alley behind a certain emporium, by a "strong-arm" man hired by that firm. The story, supported by affidavits, was given by a responsible lawyer to three newspaper men,

each of whom accepted it as true and promised to print it. The account never appeared.

In another city the sales-girls in the big shops had to sign an exceedingly mean and oppressive contract which, if generally known, would have made the firms odious to the public. A prominent social worker brought these contracts, and evidence as to the bad conditions that had become established under them, to every newspaper in the city. Not one would print a line on the subject.

On the outbreak of a justifiable street-car strike the newspapers were disposed to treat it in a sympathetic way. Suddenly they veered, and became unanimously hostile to the strikers. Inquiry showed that the big merchants had threatened to withdraw their advertisements unless the newspapers changed their attitude.

In the summer of 1908 disastrous fires raged in the northern Lake country, and great areas of standing timber were destroyed. A prominent organ of the lumber industry belittled the losses and printed reassuring statements from lumbermen who were at the very moment calling upon the state for a fire patrol. When taxed with the deceit, the organ pleaded its ob-

ligation to support the market for the bonds which the lumber companies of the Lake region had been advertising in its columns.

On account of agitating for teachers' pensions, a teacher was summarily dismissed by a corrupt school-board, in violation of their own published rule regarding tenure. An influential newspaper published the facts of school-board grafting brought out in the teacher's suit for reinstatement until, through his club affiliations, a big merchant was induced to threaten the paper with the withdrawal of his advertising. No further reports of the revelations appeared.

During labor disputes the facts are usually distorted to the injury of labor. In one case, strikers held a meeting on a vacant lot enclosed by a newly-erected billboard. Forthwith appeared, in a yellow journal professing warm friendship for labor, a front-page cut of the billboard and a lurid story of how the strikers had built a "stockade," behind which they intended to bid defiance to the bluecoats. It is not surprising that when the van bringing these lying sheets appeared in their quarter of the city, the libeled men overturned it.

During the struggle of carriage-drivers for a

six-day week, certain great dailies lent themselves to a concerted effort of the liverymen to win public sympathy by making it appear that the strikers were interfering with funerals. One paper falsely stated that a strong force of police was being held in reserve in case of "riots," and that policemen would ride beside the non-union drivers of hearses. Another, under the misleading headline, "Two Funerals Stopped by Striking Cab-men," described harmless colloquies between hearse-drivers and pickets. This was followed up with a solemn editorial, "May a Man go to his Long Rest in Peace?" although, as a matter of fact, the strikers had no intention of interfering with funerals.

The lying headline is a favorite device for misleading the reader. One sheet prints on its front page a huge "scare" headline, "'Hang Haywood and a Million Men will March in Revenge,' says Darrow." The few readers whose glance fell from the incendiary headline to the dispatch below it found only the following: "Mr. Darrow, in closing the argument, said that 'if the jury hangs Bill Haywood, one million willing hands will seize the banner of liberty by the open grave, and bear it on to victory.'" In

the same style, a dispatch telling of the death of an English policeman, from injuries received during a riot precipitated by suffragettes attempting to enter a hall during a political meeting, is headed, "Suffragettes kill Policeman!"

"PROSPERITY DOPE"

The alacrity with which many dailies serve as mouthpieces of the financial powers came out very clearly during the recent industrial depression. The owner of one leading newspaper called his reporters together and said in effect, "Boys, the first of you who turns in a story of a lay-off or a shut-down, gets the sack." Early in the depression the newspapers teemed with glowing accounts of the resumption of steel mills and the revival of business, all baseless. After harvest time they began to cheep, "Prosperity," "Bumper Crops," "Farmers buying Automobiles." In cities where banks and employers offered clearing-house certificates instead of cash, the press usually printed fairy tales of the enthusiasm with which these makeshifts were taken by depositors and workingmen. The numbers and sufferings of the unemployed were ruthlessly concealed from the reading pub-

lic. A mass meeting of men out of work was represented as "anarchistic" or "instigated by the socialists for political effect." In one daily appeared a dispatch under the heading "Five Thousand Jobs Offered; only Ten apply." It stated that the Commissioner of Public Works of Detroit, misled by reports of dire distress, set afoot a public work which called for five thousand men. Only ten men applied for work, and all these expected to be bosses. Correspondence with the official established the fact that the number of jobs offered was five hundred, and that three thousand men applied for them!

"SACRED COWS"

On the desk of every editor and sub-editor of a newspaper run by a capitalist promoter now under prison sentence lay a list of sixteen corporations in which the owner was interested. This was to remind them not to print anything damaging to these concerns. In the office these corporations were jocularly referred to as "sacred cows."

Nearly every form of privilege is found in the herd of "sacred cows" venerated by the daily press.

The railroad company is a "sacred cow." At a hearing before a state railroad commission, the attorney of a shippers' association got an eminent magnate into the witness chair, with the intention of wringing from him the truth regarding the political expenditures of his railroad. At this point the commission, an abject creature of the railroads, arbitrarily excluded the daring attorney from the case. The memorable excoriation which that attorney gave the commission to its face was made to appear in the papers as the *cause* instead of the *consequence* of this exclusion. Subsequently, when the attorney filed charges with the governor against the commission, one editor wrote an editorial stating the facts and criticizing the commissioners. The editorial was suppressed after it was in type.

The public-service company is a "sacred cow." In a city of the Southwest, last summer, while houses were burning from lack of water for the fire hose, a lumber company offered to supply the firemen with water. The water company replied that they had "sufficient." Neither this nor other damaging information concerning the company's conduct got into the columns of the

local press. A yellow journal conspicuous in the fight for cheaper gas by its ferocious onslaughts on the "gas trust," suddenly ceased its attack. Soon it began to carry a full-page "Cook with gas" advertisement. The cow had found the entrance to the sacred fold.

Traction is a "sacred cow." The truth about Cleveland's fight for the three-cent fare has been widely suppressed. For instance, while Mayor Johnson was superintending the removal of the tracks of a defunct street railway, he was served with a court order enjoining him from tearing up the rails. As the injunction was not indorsed, as by law it should be, he thought it was an ordinary communication, and put it in his pocket to examine later. The next day he was summoned to show reason why he should not be found in contempt of court. When the facts came out, he was, of course, discharged. An examination of the seven leading dailies of the country shows that a dispatch was sent out from Cleveland stating that Mayor Johnson, after acknowledging service, pocketed the injunction, and ordered his men to proceed with their work. In the newspaper offices this dispatch was then embroidered. One paper said

the mayor told his men to go ahead and ignore the injunction. Another had the mayor intimating in advance that he would not obey an order if one were issued. A third invented a conversation in which the mayor and his superintendent made merry over the injunction. Not one of the seven journals reported the mayor's complete exoneration later.

The tax system is a "sacred cow." During a banquet of two hundred single-taxers, at the conclusion of their state conference, a man fell in a fit. Reporters saw the trifling incident, yet the morning papers, under big headlines, "Many poisoned at Single-Tax Banquet," told in detail how a large number of banqueters had been ptomaine-poisoned. The conference had formulated a single-tax amendment to the state constitution, which they intended to present to the people for signature under the new Initiative Law. One paper gave a line and a half to this most significant action. No other paper noticed it.

The party system is a "sacred cow." When a county district court declared that the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Oregon constitution was invalid, the item was spread

broadcast. But when later the Supreme Court of Oregon reversed that decision, the fact was too trivial to be put on the wires.

The "man higher up" is a "sacred cow." In reporting Prosecutor Heney's argument in the Calhoun case, the leading San Francisco paper omitted everything on the guilt of Calhoun and made conspicuous certain statements of Mr. Heney with reference to himself, with intent to make it appear that his argument was but a vindication of himself, and that he made no points against the accused. The argument for the defense was printed in full, the "points" being neatly displayed in large type at proper intervals. At a crisis in this prosecution a Washington dispatch quoted the chairman of the Appropriations Committee as stating in the House that "Mr. Heney received during 1908 $23,000, for which he performed no service whatever for the Government." It was some hours before the report was corrected by adding Mr. Tawney's concluding words, "during that year."

In view of their suppression and misrepresentation of vital truth, the big daily papers, broadly speaking, must be counted as allies of those whom — as Editor Dana reverently put

it —" God has endowed with a genius for saving, for getting rich, for bringing wealth together, for accumulating and concentrating money." In rallying to the side of the people they are slower than the weeklies, the magazines, the pulpit, the platform, the bar, the *literati,* the intellectuals, the social settlements, and the universities.

HOW A VOX CLAMANTIS BECOMES PROPERTY

Now and then, to be sure, in some betrayed and misgoverned city, a man of force takes some little sheet, prints all the news, ventilates the local situation, arouses the community, builds up a huge circulation, and proves that truth-telling still pays. But such exploits do not counteract the economic developments which have brought on the glacial epoch in journalism. Note what happens later to such a newspaper. It is now a valuable property, and as such it will be treated. The editor need not repeat the bold strokes that won public confidence; he has only to avoid anything that would forfeit it. Unconsciously he becomes, perhaps, less a newspaper man, more a business man. He may make investments which muzzle his paper here, form

social connections which silence it there. He may tire of fighting and want to "cash in." In any case, when his newspaper falls into the hands of others, it will be run as a business, and not as a crusade.

WILL NEWS "OUT"?

What can be done about the suppression of news? At least, we can refrain from arraigning and preaching. To urge the editor, under the thumb of the advertiser or of the owner, to be more independent, is to invite him to remove himself from his profession. As for the capitalist-owner, to exhort him to run his newspaper in the interests of truth and progress is about as reasonable as to exhort the mill-owner to work his property for the public good instead of for his private benefit.

What is needed is a broad new avenue to the public mind. Already smothered facts are cutting little channels for themselves. The immense vogue of the "muck-raking" magazines is due to their being vehicles for suppressed news. Non-partizan leaders are meeting with cheering response when they found weeklies in order to reach their natural following. The So-

cialist Party supports two dailies, less to spread their ideas than to print what the capitalistic dailies would stifle. Civic associations, municipal voters' leagues, and legislative voters' leagues, are circulating tons of leaflets and bulletins full of suppressed facts. Within a year five cities have, with the taxpayers' money, started journals to acquaint the citizens with municipal happenings and affairs. In many cities have sprung up private non-partizan weeklies to report civic information. Moreover, the spoken word is once more a power. The demand for lecturers and speakers is insatiable, and the platform bids fair to recover its old prestige. The smotherers are dismayed by the growth of the Chautauqua circuit. Congressional speeches give vent to boycotted truth, and circulate widely under the franking privilege. City clubs and Saturday lunch clubs are formed to listen to facts and ideas tabooed by the daily press. More is made of public hearings before committees of councilmen or legislators.

When all is said, however, the defection of the daily press has been a staggering blow to democracy.

THE NEED OF THE ENDOWED NEWSPAPER

Many insist that the public is able to recognize and pay for the truth. "Trust the public" and *in the end* merit will be rewarded. Time and again men have sunk money in starting an honest and outspoken sheet, confident that soon the public would rally to its support. But such hopes are doomed to disappointment. The editor who turns away bad advertising or defies his big patrons cannot lay his copy on the subscriber's doorstep for as little money as the editor who purveys publicity for all it is worth; and the masses will not pay three cents when another paper that "looks just as good" can be had for a cent. In a word, the art of simulating honesty and independence has outrun the insight of the average reader.

To conclude that the people are not able to recognize and pay for the truth about current happenings simply puts the dissemination of news in a class with other momentous social services. Because people fail to recognize and pay for good books, endowed libraries stud the land. Because they fail to recognize and pay for good instruction, education is provided free

or at part cost. Just as the moment came when it was seen that private schools, loan libraries, commercial parks, baths, gymnasia, athletic grounds, and play-grounds would not answer, so the moment is here for recognizing that the commercial news medium does not adequately meet the needs of democratic citizenship.

Endowment is necessary, and, since we are not yet wise enough to run a public-owned daily newspaper, the funds must come from private sources. In view of the fact that in fifteen years large donations aggregating more than a thousand million of dollars have been made for public purposes in this country, it is safe to predict that, if the usefulness of a non-commercial newspaper be demonstrated, funds will be forthcoming. In the cities, where the secret control of the channels of publicity is easiest, there are likely to be founded financially independent newspapers, the gift of public-spirited men of wealth.

THE CONTROL OF THE ENDOWED NEWSPAPER

The ultimate control of such a foundation constitutes a problem. A newspaper free to ignore the threats of big advertisers or powerful

interests, one not to be bought, bullied, or bludgeoned, one that might at any moment blurt out the damning truth about police protection to vice, corporate tax-dodging, the grabbing of water frontage by railroads, or the non-enforcement of the factory laws, would be of such strategic importance in the struggle for wealth that desperate efforts would be made to chloroform it. If its governing board perpetuated itself by co-optation, it would eventually be packed with "safe" men, who would see to it that the newspaper was run in a "conservative" spirit; for, in the long run, those who can watch for an advantage *all* the time will beat the people, who can watch only *some* of the time.

Chloroformed the endowed newspaper will be, unless it be committed to the onward thought and conscience of the community. This could be done by letting vacancies on the governing board be filled in turn by the local bar association, the medical association, the ministers' union, the degree-granting faculties, the federated teachers, the central labor union, the chamber of commerce, the associated charities, the public libraries, the non-partizan citizens' associations, the improvement leagues, and the social

settlements. In this way the endowment would rest ultimately on the chief apexes of moral and intellectual worth in the city.

THE SERVICES OF THE ENDOWED NEWSPAPER

While giving, with headline, cut, and cartoon, the interesting news,— forgeries and accidents, society and sports, as well as business and politics,— the endowed newspaper would not dramatize crime, or gossip of private affairs; above all, it would not "fake," "doctor," or sensationalize the news. Too self-respecting to use keyhole tactics, and too serious to chronicle the small beer of the wedding trousseau or the divorce court, such a newspaper could not begin to match the commercial press in circulation. But it would reach those who reach the public through the weeklies and monthlies, and would inform the teachers, preachers, lecturers, and public men, who speak to the people eye to eye.

What is more, it would be *a corrective newspaper,* giving a wholesome leverage for lifting up the commercial press. The big papers would not dare be caught smothering or "cooking" the news. The revelations of an independent journal that everybody believed, would be a terror to

them, and, under the spur of a competitor not to be frightened, bought up, or tired out, they must needs, in sheer self-preservation, tell the truth much oftener than they do. The Erie Canal handles less than a twentieth of the traffic across the State of New York, yet, by its standing offer of cheap transportation, it exerts a regulative pressure on railway rates which is realized only when the canal opens in the spring. On the same principle, the endowed newspaper in a given city might print only a twentieth of the daily press output and yet exercise over the other nineteen-twentieths an influence great and salutary.

VIII

THE MIDDLE WEST — THE FIBER OF THE PEOPLE

IN these days of change, by the time a national trait has come to be generally recognized it has vanished. The school geographies insist that the French are "gay"; in point of fact, they have become in the last forty years a very serious people. The world thinks of the British as "stolid"; but, since Mafeking night, these same British seem to have turned demonstrative, almost mercurial. We go on thinking of the Germans as cautious and sluggish, whereas, actually, they are daring and energetic.

So is it with sectional traits. By the time some impression about the West has sunk deep into the Eastern mind, the West has swept onward and falsified it. The Yankee thinks of the Middle West as the land of privation and hardship; it is, in fact, a scene of comfort and plenty. He regards it as peopled by a hodgepodge of aliens, whereas the hodgepodge is at his own

door. He looks upon New England as the refuge of the primal American spirit, when, in sooth, Iowa and Kansas are more evenly American in tone than any like population in the East. The Back Bay may think of the Illinois farmer as raising corn to feed hogs, which he will sell in order to buy more land on which to raise more corn to feed more hogs with which to buy more land; and so on. But the grandson of the man of whom this was said sends his daughter to college, taxes himself for a public library, and is patron of the local art-loan exhibit.

Nor is the Middle West without its delusions. It imagines it is growing faster than the East, because the drift from the crowd toward the Edge of Things, and from the wearied land to the virgin soils, has been a constant in American history. That the center of population, which has traveled westward at the average rate of fifty miles a decade, should halt, or even retreat, would be deemed a marvel, like the sun standing still in the vale of Ajalon. Yet that very portent impends. The center, which migrated fifty-eight miles in the seventies, and forty-eight miles in the eighties, shifted only fourteen miles in

the nineties. That it then moved on thirty-one miles was due to the rush to the Pacific slope, where a family, being at the long arm of the lever, balances half a dozen Slovak families shantied in Pittsburgh.

The truth is that the East grew faster than the Middle West through the nineties, and in the last ten years it has been gaining nearly twice as rapidly, having added a quarter to its people while the West was adding a seventh. While in the East one county out of four lost in population, more than two counties out of five in the Middle West showed a decrease.

THE NEW BLOOD OF THE WEST — WHERE IT COMES FROM

One reason is that the Western farmer resents cramping conditions more strongly, and responds sooner to the lure of fresh acres, than the Eastern farmer. The West it is that peoples the newer West, while the enterprising spirits of the older commonwealths seek their chance in the near cities. A lifetime ago the old Yankee stock was faring overland to settle the wilderness. To-day only a sprinkling of the native Ameri-

cans west of the Great Lakes claim an Eastern State as their birthplace. If in Iowa seventy-one counties out of ninety-nine have gone back in population during the last decade, and an equal number in Missouri, it is assuredly not from bad times, but from the call of cheap land in Texas or the Canadian Northwest.

New Englanders and Middle State people settled freely from the Western Reserve to the Mississippi. But the men from this area settled Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, and thence overflowed into Oklahoma and Colorado. Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois provided the bulk of the American element in Minnesota, and she in turn pours most of her increase into the region beyond. East and Middle West are not far apart in numbers; but since 1860, Colorado has drawn from two to three times as many of her people from the Middle West as from the East. In North Dakota, in 1900, five times as many people hailed from west of Pittsburgh as from east of it; in South Dakota, five times as many; in Washington, three times as many; in Oklahoma, eighteen times as many.

While the West is even now being tapped by "home-seekers' excursions," which annually

carry nearly half a million west-bound through Minneapolis, Omaha, and Kansas City, the East is soaking up the new immigration like a dry sponge.

From thirty to forty years ago, great numbers of Germans, Scandinavians, Mennonites, Poles, Bohemians, and even Icelanders, landing at Castle Garden, journeyed straight through, with a railroad-ticket pinned to the shoulder, and within a year they were settled on government land. To-day the still virgin lands lie beyond the ken of the insweeping tides from southern Europe and the Orient, dreaming of jobs rather than of farms. Of these aliens, in their first crudeness, the East gets nearly three times as many as it should in comparison with the Middle West.

THE UNDERSTATURED IMMIGRANTS

A generation ago the traveler from the valley of the Connecticut or the Mohawk was offended by the peasant look of many a settlement beyond Chicago. To-day this new immigration, which has Constantinople as its geographical center, is so alien, so ignorant, and so helpless, that it takes refuge in the first industrial harbors or bays it finds. The huge, pregnant, intimidating

fact of our time is the progressive saturation of the Northeast with these understatured newcomers, who have no intention whatever of seeking the few remaining fragments of the frontier, — Idaho, the "short-grass" country, the Texas Panhandle, or the cut-over pine lands of the Northwest,— which remind us that Volume I of American history is not yet ended.

A recent leisurely drive through Connecticut prompts Mr. Poultney Bigelow to remark: "The overwhelming majority of those we saw by the roadside were Italians. . . . They cannot yet speak English nor can the hundreds of Slavonians, Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, Rumanians, Syrians, and Bulgarians who seem to stand sentry at every cross-road where we yearned for some one of English speech from whom we might extract information. . . . To find the children of those whose homes represent the ruins of modern Connecticut, follow me into the slums of Boston, New York, or Chicago, or into the hundreds of equally unsavory factory towns that blot the landscape of this otherwise beautiful State."

Not scattered as in the flush days of free land, but marshaled in gangs of miners, shovel-

ers, or concrete-mixers, or lodged in certain pockets,— a Ghetto, a Little Italy, or Little Hungary, or Little Armenia,— the later aliens form, as it were, insoluble clots. Few venture far inland in their raw state. Those who filter through the industrial mesentery to the remote farming regions are already half Americanized and are readily absorbed into the democratic society of the West. This is why its proportion of illiterate foreign-born men is less than half as great as that of the East.

As fresh coal in a furnace sends up the steam-gage, so the automatic stoker at Ellis Island charges the vicinity with a cheap labor that is filling southern New England and the Middle States with dumps, coal-breakers, canneries, sky-scrapers, wharves, subways, barge canals, and metaled roads. It is also clinching their hold on manufacturing industries and postponing that proximity of factory to farm which is the dream of every Western town. While insisting masterfully on its tariff protection, this region, which in the late eighties was gloomily listing its abandoned farms, now sees its export trade spring up like Jonah's gourd, smiles at the West's endeavor to get mills of its own, and

does not mind sending sheaves of its "commercial paper" to be rediscounted by Western banks.

DIVERGENCES IN THE AMERICAN STOCK

There is another basis of divergence between the sections. The American stock in the Middle West is not altogether of the same type as the American stock in the East.

On the physical side the evidence is strong. Dr. Gould's tabulation of the measurements of soldiers by the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War shows that the men from New England weighed 139.4 lbs., those from the Middle States 141 lbs., those from Ohio and Indiana 145.4 lbs., and the men from Michigan, Missouri, and Illinois 141.8 lbs. The last figure may reflect the dyspepsia which troubled the native volunteers much more than the foreign-born and which raged with special virulence in the newer regions, where people had not yet ceased to live on "hog and hominy." From New England the proportion of tall men in a thousand was 295; from the Middle States, 237; from Ohio and Indiana, 486; and from Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri, 466. The chest expansion rose from

2.6 in New Englanders to 3.25 in the men from the West.

Even to-day the makers of ready-made clothing note a slight tendency toward larger sizes in the West, and observe that the Western man is generally broader than the Eastern man.

WHY MEN WENT WEST

A hundred years ago the Rev. Timothy Dwight commented complacently on the benefit to Connecticut from the draining away to the frontier — then western New York — of the restless spirits who chafed under the rule of the old families and the Congregational clergy. It never occurred to him that these insurgent spirits were carrying with them to the wilderness a precious energy and initiative.

The unprosperous, the shiftless, and the migratory sought the frontier, to be sure; but the enterprising, too, were attracted by it. The timorous and cautious stayed and accepted the cramping conditions of an old society; but those who dared take chances, to "place a bet on themselves," were apt to catch the Western fever. Among the sons and grandsons of such risk-takers the venturesome temper cropped out

much oftener than among the sons and grandsons of the stay-at-homes. Hence, the strange fact that it was the roomy West that settled the farther West. On each new frontier have swarmed men from what was itself frontier only a generation earlier.

During the hundred years required to settle the country from the Alleghanies to the Rockies, the venturing spirit became visibly intensified in the Americans of the interior. Less and less provocation was needed to make a man pull up stakes and head for the open country in a covered wagon. The stalwart youth spurned his natal spot as "too crowded" when, in fact, it was full of every opportunity save that of free land. In the last Westernmost decanting of the pioneering breed, courage and love of independence reach their greatest intensity. To-day in the recesses of the Rocky Mountains you come upon steady-eyed, eagle-faced men with tawny mustaches, whose masterful, unswerving will and fierce impatience of restraint remind you of their spiritual kinsmen, the heroes of the Icelandic sagas.

A COMPARISON FROM THE CIVIL WAR

The fiber of the pioneering breed comes out in a remarkable way in the stubbornness and extraordinary willingness to take punishment shown by our soldiers in the Civil War. On comparing the average losses of troops in great modern wars we get this table:

For the twelve principal battles of the Seven Years' War, victors 14 per cent., defeated 19 per cent.

For the twenty-two principal battles of the Napoleonic epoch, victors 12 per cent., defeated 19 per cent.

For the four principal battles of the Crimean War, victors 10 per cent., defeated 17 per cent.

For the four principal battles of the Franco-Austrian War, victors 8 per cent., defeated 8.5 per cent.

For the six principal battles of the Austro-Prussian War, victors 7 per cent., defeated 9 per cent.

For the eight principal battles of the Franco-Prussian War, victors 10 per cent., defeated 9 per cent.

For the twelve principal battles of our Civil

War, the losses of the Union Army amounted to 19.7 per cent., and those of the Confederate Army to 19.6 per cent.

The comparison suggests that two centuries of frontier selections may have gradually built up in the Americans a peculiar strength of will, a trait which presumably retains its greatest freshness and vigor in those who have followed farthest the migrating frontier.

WESTERN SELF-RESPECT AND INDEPENDENCE

In the pioneer blood lurks, too, a secret horror of taking another man's orders or pay. The man borderers despise is not the wight who is poor or out-at-elbows, but the man who for a wage submits himself to another's will. They regard the negro menial as sent by Providence to render necessary services no *real man* will undertake, and they marvel that in older communities are to be found white men who will serve as waiter, porter, or boot-black. I have heard sturdy farm-lads wish they might once gaze upon a valet or footman, "just to see how that sort of fellow would look."

"Why," I asked the Master of the National Grange, "is the Grange so much stronger in the

East than in the West?" "Because," came the reply, "the social advantages of the Grange appeal much more to the Eastern farmer than to the Western. The Western farmer is absorbed in making money."

His mind *has* run to crops and bullocks, and some take it as proof that he is sordid. But there is another way of looking at it. The Westerner's willingness to give up home, neighbors, and old associations for the sake of a "claim" on the prairie is not sordid. His stern preoccupation with "getting ahead" is a part of his inherited passion for personal independence. I have seen a gray hue steal over the face of the settler when speaking of some one who had "lost his farm" and "had to go out by the day." For the wage-earner's lot the true-born Westerner feels a dread quite incomprehensible to cities and to old communities. If he ruthlessly sacrifices comforts and culture, it is that he may win a footing of his own and so call no man master.

Once he has cleared off the mortgage, improved his place, and gained a soothing sense of financial security, he will provide books, piano, music lessons, travel, and college educa-

tion for his children, even if in the meantime his own capacity to enjoy has been atrophied.

The surest proof of the Westerner's hidden idealism is his response to the charm and appeal of girlhood. No people in the world offer so many of their daughters a college education or discriminate less against daughters in providing opportunities.

Not long ago I talked with one of our best artists in black-and-white returning from his first trip to the West. "Yesterday," he said, "I saw in St. Paul a wonderful and beautiful thing, which would be impossible in New York City or in Europe. It was Tag Day, and on the street corners and in the lobbies of hotels and office buildings were stationed couples of bright-eyed girls in their teens, soliciting contributions to charity. Here were these pretty, unchaperoned young creatures accosting every man who passed, and yet I doubt if one of them met yesterday with a word or look that could wound her innocence. It was Arcadian."

SIGNS OF DETERIORATION IN NEW ENGLAND

Further proof that the wanderers to the West differed from the home-stayers is gained by

scrutinizing the descendants of those who for generations withstood the call of the frontier.

Of course the growing cities of the East have always vied with the frontier in luring the ambitious, and there is, therefore, no perceptible difference in fiber between the business and professional corps in the Eastern centers and the corresponding element in the cities of the Mississippi Valley.

Then, too, the already successful and established people in the older communities were quite too well off to be attracted by the West. Those with the right combination of ability and temperament to keep themselves at the top at home had no incentive to migrate. Hence "the Brahmin caste," as Dr. Holmes called it, the old, influential families of the seaboard States, which have given great leadership not only to their region, but often to the nation.

But looking past these conspicuous and well-recognized tendencies, one comes upon something very significant. In the rougher parts of New England to-day one finds old towns that touched their zenith eighty years ago. The élite of the young people have regularly migrated, formerly to the West, of late to the rising

cities of their own region. Aside from the aliens that here and there have seeped in, the inhabitants are of the blood of those *who always stayed behind.* In such districts the children are, in general, so listless that they have to be incited to play. Left to themselves, they do nothing but loaf about and play mean tricks on one another. Not half the high-school lads will watch their ball-team play a match game. They shrink from a "hike" of a few miles on a Saturday afternoon, and find the "boy scout" work too strenuous. The elderly farmers are obviously less supple and active than men of fifty ought to be. Outsiders agree that the average farmer accomplishes no more in three days than "a good, bright man" can do in one day. A laziness worthy of the hook-worm belt will keep a man sitting on his door-step till his barn tumbles down before his eyes. Never-works loaf all day about the grocery, the feed store, or the livery-stable. In villages still bearing traces of the famed New England neatness, loose clapboards, unpruned trees, cluttered-up door-yards, broken windows, unpainted houses, leaning fences, and crazy buggies testify to the sagging of the community below its former plane. Tidy

places are to be seen, but the proportion of slovens has visibly grown.

In some of these fished-out communities the teachers complain that the school-children do not make the progress of children elsewhere. To hold the pupil's attention, it is necessary to keep him amused. The mentally incompetent are rapidly increasing, probably because the normal couple averages less than two children, while the dull has four or five. Intellectual craving is very rare, and in a town of fourteen hundred the preacher could not recall in his five years a youth who had gone to college.

The comment of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction upon the classical academies which once flourished in these towns is pertinent. "Out of these academies went a steady stream of sons and daughters who were, other things being equal, always the strongest of the generation, for otherwise they would not have gained this education. They became lawyers, or physicians, or clergymen, or schoolmasters, or business men in the cities, and the girls went with them prevailingly to be their wives. The unambitious, the dull, the unfortunate boys and girls of the old country-side, who could not get

to the academy, as a class remained behind and became the dominant stock. And the old academy, having sorted out and sent away the ambitious stock, is now dormant."

Social workers doubt if the morals of these country boys and girls are as good as they are in the ordinary city tenements or on the Bowery. With the departure of the finer youths, vanish the higher interests that hold up the young. Gone are the singing-schools, spelling-matches, and debating-societies that once enlivened the long winter evenings. The rising generation seem utterly dead to higher things. Card-playing, smoking, dances, and motion pictures sum up their recreations, and those who try to interest them in religion, education, or even sport, agree that there is "nothing to build on."

Solitary tippling is in great favor with adults, and marital transgressions are frequent. There is little public spirit, and men of ample means are not ashamed to refuse a contribution to a welfare undertaking on the ground that they "see nothing in it" for themselves. The prospering are very furtive about their investments, and each strives to hide from his neighbors how well off he is.

In the communities of which I speak, the churches are dead or languishing. In villages that once maintained three, two will be found boarded up. The habit of church attendance has almost died out. The clergymen are in despair, for their members are elderly people, mostly women. Young recruits are not in sight, and the church is dropping into the graveyard.

LACK OF COMMUNITY LIFE

Although this is an extreme case, the downward tendency is wide-spread. Says the head of the Church and Country Life Department of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions:

Allowing for some exceptions, not too numerous, it may be said that throughout the prosperous and productive farming regions of the United States, which have been settled for fifty years, community life has disappeared. There is no play for the children; there is no recreation for young people; there are no adequate opportunities for acquaintance and marriage for young men and women; there is not a sufficient educational system for the needs of country people, and there is not for the average man or woman born in the country an economic oppor-

tunity within reach of his birthplace, such as will satisfy even modest desires. There is not in a weak community that satisfaction of social instinct which makes it "a good place to live in." Time was in New England and New York and Pennsylvania when there was a community to which every farmer belonged with some pleasure and pride. The absence of community life throughout these country regions expresses today what one man calls "the intolerable condition of country life."

OTHER REGIONS THAT SHARE THIS RETROGRESSION

If the moral sag is deepest in certain New England spots, it is only because nowhere else in the North has a rural population been so skimmed and reskimmed. But the thing has a wider range than people suspect. The disfranchisement of seventeen hundred citizens of Adams County, Ohio, for selling their votes lets in a pitiless ray on the dry rot of the lifeless communities that have missed the electrifying touch of railroad or city. The knots of gaping, tobacco-chewing loafers that haunt railway-stations in some parts of Indiana suggest that the

natural pace-makers of the neighborhood have moved on to create prosperity elsewhere. In southern Michigan, in Illinois, and even on into Missouri, are communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bullheads and suckers.

The investigations that led to the establishment of the "county work" of the Young Men's Christian Association show that rural decay is to be found, on the poorer soils at least, in purely farming regions as far west as the Mississippi River. "It is like a solar eclipse," said one investigator, "with its darkest shadow resting on the New England hills, and its penumbra reaching out even to regions only two generations from the pioneer stage."

THE "WE-FEELING" OF THE WEST

Whatever be its range, the cause of the phenomenon is not degeneration, but folk-depletion, which seems to have swept west with the same pace as the twin blight of soil-depletion. Over the leaner areas the more ambitious and stirring persons who, had they stayed, would have led in community coöperation and stamped upon their coarser neighbors their own ideals, sought the

beckoning cities or the inviting soils farther West. The longer this drain has gone on, the worse the slump. In the younger States the signs of sag fade out, and you find in the country school-houses the same literary societies, debating-clubs, and lecture courses New England was priding herself on sixty years ago.

The preacher or teacher stationed in the decaying communities imagines that the heart-breaking spiritual deadness he sees about him reflects a general condition, and concludes that the whole country is on the down grade. It has never occurred to him that the choice spirits whose departure has so impoverished the neighborhood are — many of them — serving as moral dynamos to lift the tone, the refinement, and the ideals of communities in the West. Let those who despond at the spread of caries in the old "bone and sinew" of the nation watch the crowds — mostly farmers — at some agricultural fair in one of the States beyond the Mississippi. What he will see there in the way of stature and thew, of poise and carriage, of clearness of skin and eye, of sobriety and good temper, of good manners and natural politeness, will convince him that there is a morning fresh-

ness to balance the twilight that broods over some of the old homes of the American stock.

"Do you note any difference," I asked a Western man in the service of a New England State, "between your people and the people here?" "Yes," he replied, "my own people look at life in a big way. They are more willing to cooperate, more generous in supporting things for the general good, more ready to use the State government to serve their common needs. The folks here lack the *we*-feeling. An intense parochialism keeps them jealous of their State government, and a suspicious individualism hinders them from working together for their common benefit. In many directions I see their narrow-mindedness and mistrust of one another holding them back from prosperity."

THE QUESTION OF VIRILITY

In an Eastern county-seat town a resident of less than two years was able to count among his acquaintance forty-seven childless couples. Another informant could recall among fifteen couples, friends of his, only three who had any children. "They don't want the bother." School after school that used to boast twenty or

thirty children is now lonesome with from five to ten. There is no way of separating in the records the native births from those among the foreign-born; but a state officer versed in statistics avers that the American blood is not averaging more than one child to the family, whereas the aliens exhibit from five to twelve children a couple.

But if the old branches on the tree are well-nigh sapless, the transplanted scions in the West do not fail to put forth young shoots. Children in proportion to women are half as numerous again in the Middle West as in New England and twice as numerous in the Dakotas. This despite the fact that a third of the children of New England were furnished by fecund immigrant mothers.

Not without justice is the West spoken of as "virile." Through the Northeast the women outnumber the men, to the point sometimes of being a drug in the matrimonial market. In New England the shortage of men is three per cent., in Massachusetts six per cent. But the Middle West shows eleven men for ten women, the trans-Mississippi country eight men to seven women, and in the Dakotas the excess of men is a third.

Hence, as you leave salt water the status of women rises until, in the inter-mountain States, where there are at least two suitors for every woman, the sex becomes an upper caste to which nothing will be denied from street-car seats to ballots and public offices.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE WEST

That the divorce rate rises as you go West is partly due to the willingness of chivalrous legislators to put this weapon into the wife's hands, partly to the *divorcée's* much better chance of remarriage. It is a curious fact that the order of the forty-six States arranged according to divorce rates, beginning with the lowest, tallies in a remarkable way with the order of the States arranged according to proportion of women, beginning with the highest.

Any shortage of women that makes the men eager suitors alters the terms of the marriage partnership to the advantage of the wife and betters the lot of the married woman. Accordingly the codes of the Western States treat the wife with more liberality than did the codes of the older States, and fairness to women seems to be a Western practice that spreads East. In-

deed, the enviable position of the American woman is largely the cumulative outcome of the scarcity value she has for a time enjoyed in the newer commonwealths.

IX

THE MIDDLE WEST — THE REASSERTION OF DEMOCRACY

IT has been only a hundred and ten years since the first Yankee church spire rose in the Ohio Valley. A century ago Indiana was the rawest of frontiers. It is only a rounded lifetime since the real beginning of the settlement of Wisconsin. Forty years ago log houses were still common in Iowa. The settling of the first tier of States beyond the Missouri River was but yesterday. To-day in North Dakota traction-engines, breaking the prairie sod with a battery of plows, are making quick fortunes for up-to-date settlers. Through the Middle West, then, survives much of that comparative equality of condition brought about by the original access of all to free land.

What is more, there survives much of the self-confident individualism of the pioneers. Even after a generation or two of fulfilment and prosperity, the people still think of the West as the

poor man's chance, the land dedicated to equal opportunity, and they kindle into fierce resentment when confronted by aggregations of wealth and power which seem to lift the high higher and keep the under man down. "They 're a bull-headed lot," laments the adroit wire-puller, fresh from the easy political management of the non-resistants of the Keystone State. Moreover, the Old-World bonds of social caste are dreaded by the sons of men who, half a century ago, endured log hut or sod house that they might escape these bonds. The Middle West has four millions out of the seven million persons of German parentage in this country, and the high tide of this immigration coincided with bad political and social conditions in Germany. It has also over a million from a people that has never bowed the neck under the yoke of feudalism, the Scandinavians.

And not a few threads of social idealism have been woven into the soul of this Middle West. Zoar in Ohio, New Harmony in Indiana, Amana and Icaria in Iowa — what generous aspirations these recall! Separatists, Rappites, Owenites, Fourierites, Inspirationists, Icarians, sought the uncrowded West to make their dreams come

true. They failed often, and yet they leavened great numbers with their vision of a society that should be free from ancient dwarfing oppressions and inequalities. Into the ground pattern of the East, to be sure, were woven more threads of idealism than into that of the Middle West, but they lie a century or two farther back, and the idealism was *moral* rather than *social.*

INVESTMENT EAST AND WEST

The East has had time to accumulate, and for two generations it has been exporting capital to the less-developed parts, where there are farms to improve, mines to open, railways to build, and mills to run. In any sightly New England town you are pointed out the pleasant homes of cultivated persons who "inherited money" or "married money," and often derive their income from sources beyond their ken — Western railroads, Southern traction, or Montana copper. Of course the Middle West has a very respectable quota of rich men, but it is easier for them to find use for their capital in their business. The great armies of security-holders live on the Atlantic slope, and their ranks are continually

reinforced by coupon-clippers "sugared off" from the rest of the country.

The mutual savings-banks of the East, with their millions of depositors, have about two thousand millions of money in public and corporate bonds. The great insurance companies are nearly all in New England, New York, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania, and are as heavy bond-buyers as the savings-banks. In New York there are 391 firms dealing in securities, in Boston 129, in Philadelphia 122, in Baltimore 44, in Pittsburgh 39, in Cincinnati 42, in Chicago 101, and in St. Louis 35. Plainly, the East has a long lead as security-buyer, although a quarter of a billion bonds have been marketed in Chicago in a year, and the Chicago Stock Exchange is growing like a mushroom.

The East, therefore, differs profoundly from the Middle West in that it has a vastly larger proportion of investors. It is the home not only of most of the owners of its own enterprises, but also of the owners of railways, public utilities, mines, mills, and industrial plants in all parts of the country. In the northern Mississippi Valley "Eastern money" is a term to conjure

with, like "Yankee capital" in the South; and the promoter of an interurban or a water-power development who has "got Eastern men interested" is looked upon as having taken Crœsus himself into partnership. New York and Boston, for example, are the headquarters of huge organizations, capitalized for hundreds of millions, which control electric-lighting, power, and traction companies in all parts of the United States. No doubt, too, the stream of dividends from the nine hundred millions of American capital in Mexico mostly irrigates the pleasure resorts between Palm Beach and Bar Harbor. There are little old States where the shareholders are so numerous that "Strike for your dividends!" is nearly as good a vote-winning cry as "Higher wages!" or "Down with the cost of living!"

INVESTORS' IDEALISM

Buoyed up by his life-preserver of assured income, or afloat on his raft of stocks and bonds, the investor is able to look about and see more than the panting swimmer. From investors, therefore, has come much of the support for reforms that clash with the crude instinctive prejudices of the common man. They insisted that

government must be economical and efficient at a time when the masses were content if only it were popular. They struck at the spoils system while yet the plain people naïvely thought the offices "ought to be passed around." The leisured have led in calling for the reform of our consular service and the purging of the pension-roll. The "silk-stockings" have stood up for the negro or the Indian when the hustling majority were too busy to notice his plight. The "white-collared" supported conservation when the average American regarded the public domain as a grab-bag. To-day the "kid-gloved" champion international peace, while the "shirt-sleeves" multitude are still finding a childish pleasure in ironclads and submarines.

INVESTORS AND THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE

But the man on the raft is likely to turn a critical eye upon the struggling swimmers. Investors believe in philanthropy rather than in community self-help, approve "social service," but shrink from anything that smacks of readjustment, are readier to promote "social welfare" than to concede legal rights. Mingling too exclusively with their own kind, these excel-

lent shareholding gentlemen — sons, perhaps, of the Puritans or the Quakers — settle into mistrust of the unpropertied, and come to regard questions too much from the dividend point of view. Gradually two contrasted political creeds develop, the one professed, the other believed. There is the time-hallowed official creed for the Fourth of July, Washington's birthday, and other public occasions; and there is the creed, taken for granted in the parlor-car, the billiard-room, the library, the lobby, and the fashionable club, that the people are the "mob," and that, in the words of old Roger Sherman, "the people immediately should have as little to do as may be about government."

It is easy thence to drift on into the board-room view that the skilful party managers, who keep the people amused with the semblance of power while they pull the wires in the primaries, conventions, and caucuses where government is actually shaped, are necessary to the rule of property, and every "reform" that weakens party hold or makes the chosen official obedient to the public instead of to the party boss is revolutionary and subversive.

The hundreds of thousands of security-holders

in the East constitute, therefore, a powerful conservative element which continually retards that region in its democratic development. The Middle West is no more fecund in constructive ideas, but it ripens them sooner. The same resentment against chicane and boss rule may smolder in the hearts of the plain people on both sides of the Alleghanies; but it is far harder for popular discontent in the East to find able leaders, break on the surface, and enact itself. Where investors are many, their sentiments pervade the air, and affect the organs that guide and voice public opinion. Unconsciously the chair, the pulpit, the rostrum, the sanctum, and the salon are tinctured by the political creed of this element, which is close-knit, positive, and influential. No wonder, then, that the East continually hovers between opposite tendencies — to become like Europe, because it is the Mecca of America's rich and the world's poor, and to become democratic and national, in sympathy with the impulses that reach it from the vast interior.

In the East, many men of high ideals and independent means have enlisted in politics on the side of the public welfare, and have served as a

kind of counterpoise to the selfish machines; but, as you leave the investor belt and enter the younger America, the number of sturdy idealists whose income goes on whether they win or lose to-day's fight is very few. The political Hessians know they can tire out the leaders of the people because these sooner or later must return to their neglected callings, leaving the party machines masters of the field. It is not surprising, then, that the people of the West do not rely on the aid of chivalrous Lafayettes, Steubens, and Pulaskis from the propertied class, but purpose to safeguard their dearest interests by bringing government more immediately under their own control.

THE WEAK PARTIZANSHIP OF THE WEST

In struggling to gain this control, the people of the West have an advantage in that they have not been wont to identify the foundations of their prosperity with the continuance of one party in power. The Republicanism of the West has not been of the hidebound sort one finds in certain old manufacturing States like Pennsylvania or Rhode Island, whose outraged citizens can be brought into line at the eleventh hour by

the dread of losing their tariff protection. Their Democracy has not been of the fanatical temper one finds in the lower South, where good men can be rallied in support of anything held necessary to keep in power the party claiming to stand between them and the "horrors of negro domination." Thanks to this comparative independence, the Westerners have had both parties courting their favor by good works.

MIDDLE WESTERN PROSPERITY

Less than twenty years ago the people of the upper Mississippi Valley were heavily indebted to the East, but since the middle nineties a dramatic change has taken place in their condition. The swift shrinkage of the frontier, the abrupt slowing up in the creation of new farms competing with old ones, and the growing plentifulness of gold, have conspired to bring about a great rise in the price of farm products. That python, the "higher cost of living," which is tightening its coils on the families of laborers, clerks, and professional men, is to the farmer an angel showering him with the good things of life. In a decade the acre value of Middle Western farm-land has doubled, and the value of

the buildings very nearly so. The mortgages to the East have been cleared away, and a surplus has been accumulated which reveals itself in the piling up of bank-deposits and the overflow of capital. A Kansas City banker outbid the Eastern bankers for the Philippine bond issue of 1906. Since, thanks to the alien inpouring, the East maintains its big lead in manufacturing, some expect to see a rapid expansion of the investment market in the Middle West in the coming decade.

Western farmers are converting much of their prosperity into attractive homes, macadam roads, asphalt streets, cement walks, spacious parks, and handsome public buildings. Telephones, bath-tubs, hot and cold water, acetylene gas, pianos, gramophones, books, and magazines are going into the houses. In January you may find half a thousand Northern farmers basking in certain of the Gulf resorts. For three years the West has been the largest market for the moderate-priced automobiles. Pennsylvania has issued one automobile license for every 178 of her people; Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota have outstanding one license to about every 100 inhabitants. But Iowa has licensed one ma-

chine for every eighty-one persons, Nebraska one for every fifty-three, and South Dakota one for every thirty-five!

The point of this is that the present political ferment in this region, unlike the radicalism of the early nineties, is no frothing up from economic distress. It comes not from the disappointments of men, but from their settled convictions, and no cry that "hogs is up," no "full dinner-pail" symbol, can exorcise it. Until lately, these men, secure in the belief that the fabric of their government was perfect, were giving themselves to their private concerns. But that Capuan epoch is past. The government investigations, the "literature of exposure," and the endless rumors of deals and mergers, have clouded the beaming optimism of the Westerner. Since he caught the sound of softly closing doors, since he glimpsed ahead felt-shod financiers slipping in front of the main social advance and stealthily impounding forests, water-powers, ore-beds, oil-fields, coal-veins, water-rights, smelters, elevators, packing-houses, patents, and franchises, weaving, as it were, a barb-wire shearing-pen in which to corral the ovine public, the flint in him shows, and it takes little to strike fire

from him. It is this affrighting vision of monopoly that explains the iron determination of the people to get a firmer grip on their government. It is true, as witness Oregon, that when they get direct legislation they do nothing radical with it; but they are thinking of the future, like a prudent traveler who looks to his shooting-irons before setting out through a country infested by brigands.

Putting aside the South, let us consider the parts played by the Far West, the Middle West, and the East in the various extensions of popular rule in the course of the last decade.

DIRECT PRIMARIES

Beginning in Minnesota's experiments in 1899 and 1901, the system of direct nominations was well worked out in the Wisconsin and Oregon laws of 1904. By the end of 1908 two of the three Pacific States and more than half of the fourteen Middle Western States had adopted mandatory laws covering virtually all State offices. Minnesota, Ohio, and Pennsylvania had mandatory laws covering all but State offices. Since then California, Michigan, and New Jersey have fallen in line. Other Eastern States have

come part way. It is evident that the movement for the curtailment of the power of the party bosses has become nation-wide, and within five years it will be the established American practice.

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT FOR CITIES

Eight Western States have constitutional provisions authorizing municipalities under certain restrictions to construct their own charters. Nine out of fourteen States in the Middle West have granted permission to cities of various sizes to adopt the commission form of government. In the East, Massachusetts has by special acts allowed certain cities to adopt the commission form, and New Jersey allows cities to throw aside the old cumbrous type of municipal government, which offered such opportunities for the corrupt sway of special interests. West of Denver, we find twenty-five cities under commission government; between Pittsburgh and Denver seventy-one; east of Pittsburgh, ten.

POPULAR CHOICE OF UNITED STATES SENATORS

When a "special interest" is brought to a diamond-point in a staff of highly paid officers,

or acquires a razor-edge in the shape of a corps of expert lobbyists, it is able to cut its way through the more massive, but less concentrated, "general interest" that opposes it. As an increasing number of special interests became sharply apexed, and therefore quietly effective at strategic places and moments, the failures of legislatures to choose United States Senators that represent the people became ever more frequent and scandalous. Accordingly, the policy of letting the voters register their preference for Senator has been adopted in some form in all the Western States and in New Jersey.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

In 1910, Oregon, the experiment-station of democracy, provided for a special primary in which the people might voice their preference for Presidential candidates. Since then North Dakota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, New Jersey, California, Massachusetts, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan and Washington have joined her.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

Oregon, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Missouri, Colorado, and California have the initiative and

referendum. In 1910 the people of Illinois, by a vote of seven to two, indicated their desire to have this check submitted as a constitutional amendment, but their desire was ignored by the legislature. In Idaho, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming the legislature of 1911 voted to submit the initiative and referendum as an amendment to the State constitution. In North Dakota and Wisconsin the proposal must be approved by the next legislature before going to the people. In several of the formulated amendments the foes of direct legislation have tricked the people by framing a system cumbrous and unworkable. The constitutional convention now sitting in Ohio is favorable to direct legislation. Arising in the Far West, where, owing to economic conditions, the undermining of representative government by greedy special interests had gone further than in the agricultural States, the popular control of lawmaking is advancing with great rapidity in the Middle West, and will soon be mooted on the Atlantic slope.

In view of the copious and exact knowledge of industry that underlies the making of a good workingmen's compensation act, a court-proof

public-utilities law, or a scientific insurance code, it is not to be expected that the bulk of future legislation in the West will come by rough-and-ready town-meeting methods. Organized into committees and equipped with a legislative reference bureau, the legislature will remain the chief smithy for hammering out statutes. The reserved rights of the people will serve chiefly as a check on unfaithful lawmakers, and make it unprofitable for special interests to corrupt or own a legislature that "cannot deliver the goods."

THE RECALL

Provision for the recall of any elective officer who has lost the confidence of the people exists in Oregon and California and is proposed for Arizona. The amendment before the people in Washington and proposed in Idaho and Wisconsin excludes judges from the operation of the recall. The sentiment among progressives of the Middle West makes it certain that the recall will be up for consideration very soon. Its salutariness in city government under the commission plan is widely accepted. Its merit in application to State officers is questioned, especially in

its application to judges. It is felt that, unlike other elective State officers, the judge is an expert, one "learned in the law"; and it is unreasonable that an expert should at every moment submit his actions to the judgment of the inexpert. Furthermore, the judge administers justice not solely as he will, but as the law has been laid down; and it is not certain that the righteous judge, thus hampered, can avoid gusts of unpopularity. It is possible, then, that democracy will take a fresh tack. The strong feeling against judges arises from their frequent overturning of hard-won remedial statutes on the ground of alleged unconstitutionality. Some progressives propose that when one organ of government declares to be unconstitutional the act of a coördinate organ, the issue thus made up shall go to the people, whose will the constitution purports to embody. In a word, they would leave the court only the power to force any act of the legislature deemed unconstitutional to a referendum.

Whatever the devices that may finally be worked out, it is certain that the people are assuming more control over government. This does not mean, however, that the conditions un-

der which the insurance business or the railroad business is to be carried on are to be settled by the lone farmer at the plow's tail, by the workingman at his noon lunch, and by the street-corner crowd in the light of soap-box oratory.

THE GROWING INTELLIGENCE OF THE PEOPLE

In thirty-eight years the proportion of children enrolled in the common schools has grown from 61 to 72 per cent.; the length of the school term from 132 to 155 days; the yearly schooling for each child from 48 days to 81 days. The expenditure per pupil has more than doubled and the per capita outlay is two and one-half times as great as forty years ago. And fit guides of public opinion are growing in number. In thirty years the secondary schools of the nation have grown from 1400 to 12,000. During the last eighteen years the proportion of youth receiving high-school instruction has doubled, while the enrolment in the public high schools has more than quadrupled. As for the colleges, their attendance increased 400 per cent. while the population was gaining 100 per cent.

THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF THE VOTER

In Oregon arguments for and against every measure submitted to the electors are condensed into a booklet and mailed from the office of the Secretary of State to every voter at least fifty-five days before the election. Oklahoma makes similar provision. Several cities publish a gazette to keep the voters informed on municipal affairs, and in Oregon the reformers have proposed a state gazette to help the people audit their government.

In the Mississippi Valley the national movement for the wider use of the school plant is extending the opportunity which school-houses offer for the gathering of citizens to consider questions of common welfare. A recent Wisconsin law orders that "where the citizens of any community are organized into a non-partizan, non-sectarian, non-exclusive association for the presentation and discussion of public questions," the school board *shall* accommodate them in some school building and provide, free of charge, light, heat, and janitor service. Such neighborhood citizenship organization buttresses the foundations of democracy, and in the Middle

West the movement is spreading like wild-fire. Of late no fewer than ten state universities and colleges have adopted "social center development" as a part of their extension work.

THE PRACTICAL OUTCOME

The reassertion of democracy has been prompted, not by seditious intent, popular self-conceit, or the seduction of strange doctrines, but by prudence. Bitter experience has taught the people that the secret rule of certain kinds of property or certain kinds of business through the party machines means things abominable — predatory vice, private monopoly, the wasting of natural wealth, overworked children and women, industrial oppression. On the other hand, with government made more responsive to the prevailingly humane and righteous wishes of the people, we may look the sooner for the legal protection of the weak in industry, workingmen's compensation, legal standards of housing, the regulation of public utilities, the supervision of insurance, perhaps the guaranty of bank deposits, and the taxation of site values.

No doubt certain forms of acquisitive enterprise will suffer. The peddling of extra-hazard-

ous securities, counterfeiting in the form of stock-watering, the use of unfair methods against smaller business competitors, the impounding of stock in holding companies, the enchaining of banks so as to monopolize credit — all such exploits are likely to be outlawed. Promoters, developers, security-manufacturers, speculators, and monopolizers will find themselves hampered, and will, no doubt, complain that the stakes are smaller and the game is less interesting.

The swaying ideas in this democratic movement are not parts of an imported philosophy of overturn. In Oregon or Kansas or Wisconsin probably not one man in twenty has ever heard family, property, or State seriously called in question. Nowhere in the nation is the institution of property more respected by the plain people than in the farming Middle West, where ownership is easy and a proletariat has hardly begun to form.

Recently a Chicago woman who knows labor campaigned rural Illinois in behalf of woman suffrage; and this is what she noted:

> The eyes of the farmer are cold, clear, and steady, as if he had never been torn or confused by any great grief or fearful crisis. The burning look in the eyes of the city workman who knows that he is exploited and who has no

redress, no home, no security, no fruit of his toil — this look I never once saw in the eyes of the men down State.

From such people nothing more alarming is to be expected than sober efforts to safeguard the public welfare where it is menaced by private enterprise, and to broaden individual opportunity where it is abridged by massed capital.

WILL THE WEST CONVERT THE EAST?

It is an old, old thing, the reaction of the frontier upon the seaboard. "In nearly every colony prior to the Revolution," says Turner, "struggles had been in progress between the party of privilege, chiefly the Eastern men of property allied with the English authorities, and the democratic classes strongest in the West and the cities." All through American history democracy has been like a trade-wind, blowing ever from the sunset. The young States of the Ohio Valley led in multiplying the number of elective offices, in introducing rapid rotation in office, in submitting State constitutions to popular ratification. Class bulwarks of colonial date were thus pounded to pieces by the surf of democratic sentiment from the West. Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy, Lincoln Republicanism,

Grangerism, Populism, Bryan Democracy, Roosevelt Republicanism — wave after wave has rolled seaward, loosing the East from its Old-World or "first-family" or "best-people" moorings. Some of these impulses were wrong-headed and died away, others prevailed, and the sum of these successful Western initiatives is what we offer to the world as the American political system.

There are, to be sure, very good reasons why the East might reject the new democracy. With its legion of intelligent investors and its multitude of ignorant aliens, it might well plead: "Leave me alone. Your case is not my case." But the nationalizing forces are hard to withstand. The tendency toward unity of institutions all over the nation is stronger now than ever before. Twenty years ago who expected there would ever be so much populistic opinion along the Hudson or so much capitalistic sentiment along the Missouri as there is to-day? If, then, the past is a safe guide, we may look for the East to be shaken presently with the same democratic revolution that is accomplishing itself in the States of the Far West and the Middle West.

X

THE MIDDLE WEST — STATE UNIVERSITIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE

SOME years ago the thesis of a graduate student in the University of Nebraska shed new light on the memorials presented to the National Assembly of France in 1789. In reviewing it, a *savant* of the Sorbonne commented on the remarkable fact that the French should learn something about the causes of their revolution from the scholarship of a young university established in a region that, when that revolution occurred, knew only the redskin and the buffalo. To Americans the type of foreign compliment is familiar, but let it stand as a just tribute to the swiftness with which the higher life unfolds in the newer West.

The thirteen state universities of the Middle West dispose of over $11,000,000 of working income and maintain 3000 professors and instructors teaching 35,000 young men and women.

The thirteen leading endowed institutions of the East, namely, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Brown, Dartmouth, Tufts, Syracuse, Williams, and Amherst, have 34,000 students, taught by 4000 men, and enjoy a working income of about $13,000,000. The difference between the groups is not great, but the significant thing is that the Western universities have been growing in attendance about twice as fast as the Eastern institutions. At present they have four times as many students as they had twenty years ago, and five times as large a teaching force. Meanwhile the value of their buildings and grounds has increased fourfold, of their libraries and equipment sixfold, and their total working income more than eightfold. Despite such noble foundations as those of Northwestern and Chicago, educators generally realize that in the Middle West the future lies with the State institutions.

THE RISE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITIES

The vast resources of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia are the slow accumulation of time, and

represent the gifts of several generations. The Middle West, too, would have had such foundations had it been willing to wait for wealthy donors. In its early period, indeed, colleges were thickly planted, and they were as generously supported as were the Eastern colleges in their adolescence. Forty years ago such institutions as Oberlin, Wabash, Knox, Northwestern, Beloit, and Iowa were playing a leading rôle. Then dawned the era of specialized and costly education, the era of laboratories, collections, workshops and gymnasiums, and the church colleges were unable to meet the demand. Unwilling to let two or three generations of her young people miss their chance while the colleges were slowly gathering endowments, the State enlarged her heart and began to give generously to the university that, under the ordinance of 1787, had been planted in each commonwealth of the Northwest and endowed with public lands. Thanks to the agitation for State aid, the people of the West have come to a different conception of the rôle of higher education from the people of the Northeast. They regard it less as the basis of individual success than as a sure means to social progress, and they agree that the State

should bear a part of the cost of social progress. In the last fifteen years, moreover, the ominous drift toward economic inequality has made them solicitous to bring about a greater equality of opportunity. To make education free from sill to capstone appeals to them as one safe way to counteract the sinister forces of social stratification. It is this unspoken concern for the future of democracy that prompts the two or three millions of people in a Western State to build up a university that would be the glory of a European kingdom.

President Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching points out that these Western States "represent a different stage of educational consciousness from what one sees in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. Pennsylvania, for example, is one of the oldest and richest States of the Union. It has no debt, and has an enormous income. In no other State has the individualistic conception of education lingered longer. As a whole, the State has never come into a conception of education from the point of view of the whole people. As a consequence, its public-school system is still in its

rudimentary stage; its normal schools are private enterprises, and the normal schools and many of its colleges are engaged in the work of secondary education. The only evidence of a state-wide interest in education is to be seen in its series of appropriations to private institutions — colleges, hospitals, and charitable concerns — which makes education in that old and rich State a part of the politics in which Pennsylvania has achieved so bad an eminence."

THE AVALANCHE OF WESTERN STUDENTS

The offer of a college course at a nominal fee has brought down on the Western colleges a veritable avalanche of students. Massachusetts has 223 of her youth in college for every 100,000 of her population, while New York has 198 matriculates. But Illinois and Wisconsin have respectively 230 and 246 sons and daughters in college for every 100,000 of population. The two Eastern States boast of many famous educational centers, but fewer than half the students in Massachusetts colleges come from the Bay State, and only three-fifths of those in New York colleges hail from the Empire State; so that the college trend in these States by no

means matches the glory of their universities.

When you stop to consider, it is wonderful that in communities only a life-time from the red Indian the pursuit of higher studies should already have come up abreast of that in communities with a start of two centuries. In view of the fact that a third of the Illinois youth anywhere in college and two-thirds of those of Wisconsin are enrolled in their State university, it is certain that nothing but the State's shouldering of the burden of higher education as a part of its duty to posterity has enabled the Middle West so soon to overtake the East.

The difference in tuition between the big universities of the two regions runs from $125 to $200. There is also a difference in the cost of living, and, what is more, in the prevailing style of living. It will cost a Wisconsin student at least $500 less to obtain a first-class degree than it will cost a Massachusetts student, and this is a great lift to any one who is on his own resources. It is gratuitous education, not a sharper thirst for learning, that accounts for the much larger proportion of Western young people who, by stretching on tiptoe, contrive to pluck the college sheepskin. The State's standing offer to

give away instruction costing it from $400 to $600 draws out an astonishing number of aspirants from families with small means. Indeed, there seems to be no limit to the number of high-school graduates who can achieve four years at college if they have set their hearts on it. One can forgive corybantic athletics, wandering glee-clubs, itinerant dramatic troupes, and other spectacular by-products of university life in view of their publicity value. They inspire longings in young people who, once they are on the campus, will wake up to their opportunities. Just so the numerous bread-and-butter courses lure to the university talented striplings who will in the end develop a taste for culture. And the clever are not slow to use these courses as decoys. Farmer Skinflint's boy persuades his father to give him a chance by harping on the courses in stock-judging, soils, and plant diseases. Gradgrind's son wheedles the old man by talking up the instruction in accounting and business management, while the daughter points him out studies that fit a girl to be factory inspector, settlement warden, or social-center secretary.

Once he is past his freshman year, the bright youth contrives somehow to work himself

through. He tends furnace, waits on table, washes dishes, hammers out calculus while night clerk, lives out of a paper bag, scissors his cuffs, blacks his shoes with stove polish, and in the end scores above the dawdler who commiserates him from the cushioned window-seat of a luxurious chapter-house.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY AS ALMA MATER

The sum of the ages of the half-dozen leading universities of the East is fully a thousand years. The ages of the six great state universities of the Middle West amount to only three centuries. To those with a historical sense the difference in venerableness is impressive, and they fancy the Western undergraduate is missing something sweet and mellowing. The fact is, to the average collegian the hoar of antiquity means nothing, for he cannot appreciate it. To him a college is as venerable as are its elms. A shaft on the campus to the unreturning boys of '61 moves him as much as a tablet to the sacrifices of Alma Mater in the Revolution. The student body changes every four years. Ten generations have passed through the college halls while the wheel of life outside has made one turn. A student

custom started by men who are now inventors, explorers, judges, and senators is revered as much as we grown-ups revere Charter Oak or Liberty Bell. The students in the Western universities, then, do not miss that rime of age their elders make much of. To them the plain gray buildings, with small-paned windows recalling the middle of the last century, are charged with sentiment, and the traditions of the place are as the law of the Medes and Persians. The Wisconsin graduate, delirious in a Philippine hospital, is as likely to babble of the graceful fox-squirrels that chase one another in the campus elms as is the fevered Princeton man to rave of the pleasant twilight singing on the steps of Nassau Hall.

Some imagine a state university has to be bleak and utilitarian, like an industrial school or asylum for the blind. Now, aside from two or three that have had Aladdin's lamp to rub, the endowed institutions do not surpass the commonwealth colleges in beauty of grounds and architecture. But, in any case, it is not towers and arcades that make a college loved. To how many promising farm lads, tired of "playing chambermaid to a cow," to how many

bright girls, eating out their hearts in a dull country town, the state university has opened a celestial vision! Tax-money or gift, it makes no difference what builds the college, if only it is there one catches the Gleam. As youth passes through these halls, it decks them with traditions, gilds them with poetry, and hallows them with dreams. If it have a torch to pass on, the commonwealth college will be loved, cannot help being loved. So the student customs strike root, the classes plant their ivy, the alumni hold their reunions, and the "old grads," grizzling about the temples, sing with a catch in the voice

> Here 's to good old Kansas,
> Drink her down, drink her down!

just as they do in the halls of John and Eli.

STATE UNIVERSITY ATMOSPHERE

The state universities have the taint of usefulness, and those who care most for social prestige send their sons to a salt-water college. Leisure-class tastes and ideals are much more in evidence at the old endowed institutions. But, despite the atmosphere of earnestness and work, eager, speculative minds do not always feel themselves at home in the state university. Sur-

round a thousand young people who love knowledge for its own sake with two or three thousand others who value it as a saddle-beast that will carry them to the top of the hill, and they will miss the ozone of Parnassus. With its vast provision for professional and technical studies and its swelling concourse of the practical-minded, the state university is not the ideal resort for the student of an intellectual temper and a disinterested interest in things. The utilitarian spirit of the place leaks in at the keyhole and dulls the edge of speculation. There is too little of that eager discussion of questions religious, ethical, philosophical, and social, which springs up naturally in the isolated college of purely liberal studies. It is bad form to be keen about the problems of life, and the youth of parts, finding his advances met with raised eyebrows, goes away sometimes with his yearnings unsatisfied.

The courts have settled it that in the tax-supported institution there can be no compulsory daily chapel, no required Bible study and "Christian evidences," with Paley and Butler in the senior year. Darwin and Spencer are not anathema, and one cannot guarantee the "religious

atmosphere" promised by the denominational college. Yet somehow the student's character has suffered less than was expected. It would take a bold man to arraign the state university product as inferior to the output of the college in moral principle and spirit of service. The secret is that religion has been there all the time, but it has been home-grown rather than catered. Student and faculty volunteers contribute to the quickening of the religious life, the denominations build their hostels and maintain their student pastors, religious leaders with a message are brought in, and no one fears lest in the state university the things of the spirit are falling into neglect and decay.

COEDUCATION

The assumption that Helen shall go to college as well as Walter is general in the West, and nineteen times out of twenty Helen will be coeducated. The tax-supported university has perforce to open its doors as wide to women as to men, and the approaching tide of equal suffrage makes it certain that if in the future either sex is to be discriminated against, it will not be women. If ever a new departure confounded the

prophets, it was coeducation. It has not bred license and scandal. The young women have not been masculinized. I asked a young woman who divided her time equally between Vassar and Wisconsin, "What is the difference between the girls there and here?"

"Oh, at Vassar we are so much more self-reliant. Here the girls simply sit back as meek as mice and let the men run things."

The early "co-eds" were ultra-earnest, so it used to be said that the coeducated girl turned out a blue-stocking or a frump. Now that the "daughter of Eve" type is attending in ever greater numbers, it would be quite as fair to charge that coeducation hatches out a butterfly or a flirt. One president notices "a tendency for the men to fix the standards, not only for themselves, but for the women," and observes that the women "regard as successful the one who is attractive to the young men." The fact is, of course, that the presence or absence of male students is of little consequence in Helen's education. The type of college girl — which, like De Vries's *Œnothera Lamarckiana,* seems to be in a state of lively and startling mutation — is formed in the family and society rather than in

the college. Anyway, it is the coeducated girl who secures the truly feminine education; for the studies of Vassar women and Williams men are more alike than are the courses chosen by the two sexes in the liberal arts college of a Western university.

STATE UNIVERSITY AND DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES

The amazing growth of the state university has made mock of all prophecy. When Nebraska laid out Lincoln, her capital, in 1868, four city blocks were deemed ample for the state university, although land was to be had for a song. To-day the campus is overcrowded and hemmed in by the city, yet the university cannot remove to the outskirts without sacrificing more than half a million dollars' worth of buildings. When, in the early eighties, the Regents of the University of Minnesota found themselves with a building appropriation of $30,000 a year for six years, the president of the board said he thought Minnesota would be greatly displeased if the university with that sum did not build all the buildings it would ever need. Now one state university has nearly $1,000,000 worth of build-

ings under construction, and the architect is told to plan for 10,000 students.

When in the seventies the state university sought to supplement the income from its lands by calling upon the legislature, the banded denominational colleges often fought the university appropriation, and I can remember when it was a part of the duty of certain persuasive professors to lobby at the capitol for the university bill. The great freshet of students, beginning in the late eighties, allayed the fears of the colleges lest their classrooms be emptied, and reconciled them to state support of the university. In some cases they now coöperate with it in entrance requirements, fit their work into its scheme, and under the advice of its deans recast their courses of study with reference to the university professional schools. The college has all the students it can well take care of, while on the other hand, the university, but for the colleges, would be swamped with undergraduates. So far the State cannot tap the Pierian spring fast enough to slake the spreading thirst for a higher education, and it is fortunate that the colleges are there to attract and set to work the gifts of generous individuals.

UNIVERSITY FINANCING

"Does n't it humiliate you," a great money-raising president asked the head of a state university, "to have to wheedle your biennial appropriation out of ignorant farmer legislators?"

"Tastes differ," was the reply. "For my part, I 'd rather lay our needs before the representatives of the people than hang on to the coat-tails of the plutocrat." In these days of imperative expansion, the head of the private institution must be a good beggar unless there is a legion of prospering alumni to whose loyalty he can appeal. The resulting dependence on the rich is anything but dignified. I have seen the president of a great university turn, in his commencement address, to a local capitalist who had extended emergency relief, with a sweeping obeisance and the salutation, "You, sir, were the captain of our salvation!" "The ideal founder of a university," confided another president to me, "is one considerate enough to die promptly." On the other hand, the distinguished head of a state university felt obliged to wait upon a railroad president in the largest commercial city of the State and beg that mag-

nate to order his railroad legislators to pass the university appropriation bill unmutilated. I have known such malign corporate domination of politics that the professors in the service of the State were less free to break a lance for the public cause than the professors on a neighboring multi-millionaire foundation. The existence of the endowed university and the state university side by side is a good thing for academic freedom. In both there are dangers to the scholar's independence, but they are not the same dangers; so that the scholar evicted from one may find refuge with the other. While the greater institutions of both types are reasonably free, this unhappily is not true of certain young state universities in the Far West, without alumni to protect them against the politician; nor is it true of many struggling colleges, which show in their pasteurized texts and teaching their tenderness for the susceptibilities of the possible donor. I say "possible," for if ethics, economics, and sociology are chloroformed, it is not for givers, but for those who *may* give. The money that "taints" is the money coveted, but not yet acquired.

UNIVERSITY-WROUGHT CHANGES

Watching the transformation of the Middle West is like seeing the trick mango-tree grow under the hands of the Hindu juggler. Twenty years ago in the university of a certain Western State there were fewer than 800 students. Another institution was planted near by, a keen rivalry sprang up, the legislature began to give generously, the young people of the State began to take notice, and now there are nearly 6000 of them in the two institutions. On public education the effect was magical. Five years after the growth began, every high school was able to have a college graduate as its principal. Four years later it was possible to insist that every high-school teacher should be a graduate. Now, even the grammar schools are largely in the hands of the college-bred, and the staffs of the high schools are made up of those who have done graduate work.

It is sweet to watch the fresh green spread after the water has been turned into the irrigation-ditch. It is sweeter to watch the standards of the community rise after the broad stream of trained young people begins to issue from the

universities and progressively saturate the walks and professions. There is soon a marked improvement in the quality of editorial writing, political spell-binding, jury pleading, legislative debate, and commemorative eloquence. Buncombe, bombast, claptrap, and rant wilt under the October breath of criticism. The country is leavened with farmers who attend the February "short course" and are proud to be registered at the university as "pure-seed raisers" or possessors of "accredited farms." Rural leadership passes from the strong pioneer-bred man of limited outlook and stubborn prejudices to an alert, reading, progressive type molded in the college of agriculture and eager to "keep up." As the alumnæ filter in, the women's clubs, instead of listening to papers on Etruscan art and miracle plays, take to studying milk supply, charity organization, and retardation in the schools. Legislative committees begin to be overwhelmed with damning facts about cash-girls, factory women, and industrial diseases, gleaned by fair bachelors in the college settlements. The paunchy, overjowled deadheads who embezzle the local party organization and snuggle ever closer to the business interests that

"come across," are annoyed by crisp-speaking young lawyers and school principals and electricians with pointed questions about assessments, paving contracts, and franchises. As educated men filter through the community, reforms are secured that twenty years ago seemed millennial. The separation of local from State sources of revenue, the separation of local from national elections, the treatment of a franchise as valuable property, the discriminating between ordinary industry and natural monopoly, the practice of scientific charity and penology, the concentration of responsibility in government — these and a score of other good things which once seemed as far above popular comprehension as four-dimensional space, have come to pass, thanks chiefly to the radiations from the classrooms.

THE UNIVERSITY AS SERVANT OF THE STATE

The University of Wisconsin has led in new forms of service which are likely to be taken up by other commonwealth institutions. It is a matter of common remark by foreigners that our State governments are weak on the administrative side. This is owing to the early democratic

dread of a "permanent office-holding class" and the naïve faith that any honest, capable citizen will "make good" in any office. As a great variety of new tasks calling for special knowledge and skill are thrust upon government, the old-style, all-around, interchangeable office-holder proves a frail reed to lean on, and the expert is called in. Now, a university faculty is the natural rendezvous of experts, and nothing could be more fortunate than the fact that at Madison the demand for experts on Capitol Hill and the supply of experts on University Hill, a mile away, should meet and satisfy each other. There are now between thirty and forty faculty men connected with the non-political public service of Wisconsin. The president of the university is chairman of the Conservation Commission and member of the Forestry Commission, the Free Library Commission, and the Public Affairs Commission. One dean is superintendent of the Geological and Natural History Survey and serves on the Fish Commission, the Forestry Commission, the Conservation Commission, and the State Park Board. Another serves on the Forestry Commission and the Board of Immigration. One professor of bac-

teriology is director of the State Hygienic Laboratory. Other professors sit on the Live Stock Sanitary Board, the Board of Agriculture, and the State History Commission. Divers members of the engineering faculty value public utilities for the Railroad Commission. Former professors on the Tax Commission and the Industrial Commission teach classes without pay. On the other hand, the State Forester and the head of the Legislative Reference Library offer university courses. Altogether, professors administer or advise on nineteen state boards or commissions, besides being frequently called in by committees of the legislature for aid in formulating laws. The effect has been not to draw the university into politics, but to take out of politics state services calling for expert knowledge. Thanks chiefly to this happy coöperation between university and capitol, Wisconsin has often been called "the best-governed State in the Union."

THE UNIVERSITY AS SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

The endowed university owes its benefactors gratitude; the state university owes both gratitude and service. In the former a professor

feels that his duty is to his science; in the latter he feels that his obligation is to the commonwealth. In casting about for new ways of making itself useful, the state university cannot but question if its task ends with teaching a few thousand on its campus. Out in the State there are a hundred times as many,— the tortoise upon which the commonwealth rests,— held away from the campus by the necessity of earning their living. What can it do for them?

The University of Wisconsin answers the question by extending its campus to the boundaries of the State, so that it now enrolls more students out of sight of its dome than under it. In six years its extension work has grown until now 5000 are taking courses by correspondence. It has sent missionaries through the shops and factories and organized groups of artisans who prosecute their studies under the stimulus of traveling instructors teaching them on employers' time. At three district centers away from Madison a staff of half a dozen organizers and teachers has been planted, and when the State is covered there will be seventeen such districts, each served from a convenient center.

A "bureau of general welfare" answers thou-

sands of questions upon sanitation, economics, government, sociology, education, agriculture, engineering, manufacturing, etc. The shops and laboratories freely test soils, ores, fuels, commercial fertilizers, building materials, road materials, ceramic clays, water samples, and evidences of disease. A municipal reference bureau furnishes information on municipal subjects from paving and sewage disposal to playgrounds and social centers.

To serve the active minds at the cross-roads and the country town there is a "bureau of debating and public discussion" which briefs live questions impartially and loans packages of selected material on the subjects the people are discussing. Last March it sent out 403 such package libraries on 190 subjects to 137 localities in the State. It lit up nine debates on capital punishment, eleven on the recall, twelve on parcels post, seventeen on commission government, nine on initiative and referendum, and thirty on woman suffrage.

If public-spirited men are ready to join in a movement for the common good, the extension department is there to be used. Thus, besides organizing a "municipal and social institute" in

Milwaukee and a state "bakers' institute," it has promoted an organization for the reform of the criminal law, an anti-tuberculosis conference, a state conference on charities and corrections, and a national conference on civic and social-center development.

Twenty years ago not more than four state universities in the land had as much to spend for all their work as this university will spend for extension the coming year. And it is announced that a sister state university will put exhibits, lantern, tent, and a staff of lecturers into automobiles and hold a "university week" in strategic centers all over its State. So in this line we have had our Burbank. The educational "plumcot" is standardized, any one can get the seed, and what one state university does now, all will shortly be doing. The fruit will be ripe in our children's time, and it will be sweet.

XI

THE MIDDLE WEST — SOCIETY AND CULTURE

THERE is a California type, molded by gold-hunting, the Sierra, the red-woods, and an ocean that rolls to one's feet cocoanuts from the South Seas. There is, or rather was, a Southern type, the product of slavery, plantation life, a kindly climate, and the English country-gentleman tradition. But there is no Middle-Western type to puzzle the Easterner, for there is in the Middle West no soul-mold that the East does not know. Along the Ohio and the Missouri one finds about the same sort of people to be found along the Connecticut, but they occur in different proportions. It is this difference of proportion that furnishes the key to Middle-Western society.

SOME GAINS FROM LEISURE

I have already shown how the political contrast between the two regions corresponds to the

frequency of the investor. Now, similarly, their social contrast reflects the comparative strength of two elements, the leisured and the pleasure-hunting rich.

Besides the occasional artist or poet, the social circles of the East contain a leaven of those who, having lived much out of harness, have learned to loaf and invite their souls. About the cloth one comes gratefully upon persons who have had time to discover and indulge a fondness for English cathedrals, early Florentine art, or Albanian ballads; who prick across the conversation on some curious and interesting hobby, like missals, Satsuma-ware, or Russian folk-lore. Then, too, many of inherited leisure have given thought to being agreeable, and have lifted the giving of pleasure through social intercourse to a fine art.

A recent English visitor complains that we use speech for the conveyance of fact, and that rarely did he come upon those who know how to converse with charm, to play with a topic till they kindle brilliancy in the *vis-à-vis* and he goes away pleased with himself and with them. This criticism holds for the Middle West, for the leisured there are few, and social intercourse is

chiefly the relaxation of the busy. Graceful badinage, like the old-fashioned graceful letter-writing, takes time, and both go out when the tempo of life is quick. Men of action in their playful moods chaff or tell droll stories, and only women have time to acquire that happy mingling of thought, imagination, and wit which makes delightful conversation.

The same visitor observes that "absence of manners in an American is intended to signify not surliness, but independence." Now, one motive that peopled the West was the passion for independence, and so it is not surprising that the plain people there often suspect manners to be a capitulation to the spirit of servility. The reason why so many hurried visitors dislike the Middle West is that they take to be selfish and indifferent a people who are not used to expressing in the conventional forms their kindness and hospitality. If those who have lived long among them resent such criticism, it is because, back of the nonchalant, undemonstrative manner, they know there is as much justice and good-will as there is anywhere in the world.

THE EXODUS OF THE SYBARITES

Among a people that exalts "doing things" into a kind of religion the successful man keeps on with his work even after he has ceased to care for its rewards. Though he have much goods laid up for many years, the Middle Westerner is loath to say, "Soul, take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry." So few lay off their harness before life's afternoon that nearly all circles tingle with the spirit of the striving. At the governor's ball, all the men you meet are workers near the top of their respective ladders of endeavor. The drone under forty is regarded with impatience, even contempt; for the social aspirant is gauged chiefly by his proven worth in the competitions of real life.

To escape this nipping and eager air, those who early find themselves in the coupon-clipping class drift away from the hustling West to places where they can meet other idlers, kill time gracefully with fox-hunt, coaching-party, and horse show, and be looked up to as better and happier than other people. Then, too, the West is not well enough upholstered to make the sybarite perfectly comfortable, and so he gravitates

toward the London hotel where Jeames warms the morning newspaper before handing it to you, or the Paris restaurant where Gaston, after carving your duck, places the carcass in a silver press and squeezes you its last savory drop of juice. The exodus of this type is a blessing to the West, for it postpones the day when the noxious idea will take root that the elegant loafer is superior to the capable doer.

THE EXODUS OF MONEYED GOTHS

The Western millionaire with strong local attachments cares more for the people among whom he has prospered than for Vanity Fair, and will not uproot in order that "the girls" may have a shy at a titled foreigner. He keeps on a human basis with his townsmen, gives freely of his time and money to community interests, and, when he dies, bequeaths liberally to local institutions.

But there is another type who, once he has blossomed into purple opulence, longs for New York and Newport, in order to mix in a kind of life that can give him his money's worth. First his womenfolk awaken to the limitations of Peoria, Grand Rapids, or Sioux City, for they

notice they are getting only turkey for their terrapin. Presently, he, too, confesses that society among people who have to observe office-hours and eschew golf lacks distinction, and he is ready to migrate to Fifth Avenue, which is often only a way station for Mayfair or the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne.

GOTHIC SOCIETY AND ITS INFLUENCE

Like the "bonanza kings" who left the Comstock lode to go down to San Francisco and make Nob Hill a fit launching place for the word "nobby"; like the cattle lords from *el campo* who flaunt their wealth in the Avenida de Mayo of Buenos Aires; like the diamond kings, nitrate kings, and Rand magnates who would swamp London society with a torrent of expenditure no home-grown fortune can match, the newly rich from all parts of this country, converging upon Eastern centers, particularly New York, seek to substitute, for the natural society they find, their own notion of society. And their own notion is that society exists *to sweeten with the charm of social exclusiveness the joint enjoyment of the costly.* In the extravagant, self-indulgent circles they form there is wrought out an

Alice-in-Wonderland table of values that stands plain common-sense philosophy on its head. Literature, the crown of all great society, is little respected, or understood. The spender outshines the achiever. Publicity is to be sought, not shunned. The social bond is not sympathy of tastes, but the sharing of expensive pleasures. The giver of a new thrill or the inventor of a fetching stunt is more of a hero than a Pasteur or a Peary.

From these glittering circles, thanks to the yellow press, false standards spread through the social body, and corrupt home-bred notions of what is fit or decent or worth while. For many, pleasure-class example breaks the mainspring of useful endeavor. It makes the strung bow envy the unbent bow. It makes people who have to work hate their work. It makes the functional people as grasshoppers in their own eyes. Servants it turns into shameless tip-extractors. It whets greed and hurries men into graft, extortion, and monopoly. In the lives of multitudes who have nothing to look forward to but the common lot it sows the stinging nettle of ungratified worldliness. And so the poison leaches down through the layers of society. Parents

communicate the virus to their children, fashionable schools to their pupils, college fraternities to their members. From the pleasure centers it spreads to the hustle centers, from the metropolis to the cities, and from the cities to the towns and to the country-side.

Against this contagion the people of the Middle West are by no means proof, but they have the good fortune to live rather out of its reach. The person ludicrously out of touch with reality usually turns out to be of Eastern origin. Even leisure-class refinement sometimes makes one unable to tell a hawk from a hand-saw. Add pleasure-class artificiality, and you get people with their feet clear off the ground, like Marie Antoinette, who, when she heard the poor crying for bread, asked why they did n't eat cake! At a recent *ekklesia* of a national Greek-letter fraternity, an Eastern undergraduate voted against chartering a petitioning Western chapter with the explanation, "Somehow I can't think much of fellows that send us a representative who neglects the crease in his trousers." "A gentleman," observed a callow sophomore whose mother supports him with her pen, "is a fellow who changes all his linen every day." The rising fees

of Eastern engineering schools are welcomed by some students on the ground that they will "keep the muckers out of the profession." An astonishing number of Eastern parents will own that they send their sons to college, not for any knowledge or ideals the faculty may give them, but for the ease, polish and desirable social connections that may come from four years of college residence. The boys quickly catch the idea and learn how to intimate delicately to the professors their sense of the secondariness of study and the all-importance of "student life and association."

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF THE WEST

The Middle-Western students are still naïve enough to respect knowledge, although, to be sure, some of them show their respect by standing afar off. Perhaps this is linked up with the interesting fact that in the East a fifth of the secondary schools are private, while in the Middle West only a twentieth cater to social exclusiveness. Nor has the Middle West placed a stigma upon labor. It is said that when Senator Philetus Sawyer of Wisconsin, who made his fortune out of sawmills, set up his carriage in Washington, he appropriately put on it the Latin

word "Vidi," which, being translated, signifies "I saw." When John Johnson first ran for governor of Minnesota, his political opponents jeered at him as of poor-house extraction. The people of the State rebuked the un-American gibe with a big majority for the man who had come up by his personal merits, and his subsequent career justified their estimate. I have heard the wife of a Western farmer governor — who did well, by the way — confess naïvely her enjoyment of life in the "Executive Mansion," and impart the confidence, "Do you know, when we go back home, I just believe I won't have the hired men eat at the family table. It 's *so* much nicer without them."

Servants the West welcomes,— although it calls them "help,"— but it dreads the servile spirit. His French cook or his private car might not hurt a candidate for office, but his English butler would damn him politically. "Some time since," writes a Kansas professor, "a distinguished visitor from the East came to the State to deliver a public address. He was hospitably received, attentively listened to, and highly praised; but to no purpose all these fine ideas: the great man was found wanting, for

there was discovered, among his other impedimenta, a valet. It was a fatal mischance. The poor valet was more commented upon than the address, more observed than his master. The circumstance stamped the misguided man as clearly not our kind of man. Obviously, no man who carries a valet can speak the Kansas language."

Although minor place of relaxation are springing up in the Middle West, I think that the pretentious and costly pleasure-centers of America — the cream-pots of the country's wealth-production — will be situated in California, on the Gulf, or on the Atlantic coast. Here most nakedly will be exhibited plutocratic pomp, "the lust of the eyes and pride of life," while most of the dwellers in the Mississippi Valley will escape ocular infection with foolish standards that put people out of joint with their work and their attainable happiness. Commenting on the irruption of rich summer residents into a charming New Hampshire district, a friend says, "These millionaires, with their costly 'cottages,' their footmen, and their motor-cars are making our farmers feel like peasants." The Western obverse of this is the experience of a colleague

of mine of Iowa extraction who drove over to the old home in his 25-horse-power evidence-of-prosperity, just to let his farmer cousins and neighbors know he was getting on. "The joke was on me," he confesses with a chuckle, "for most of them had better automobiles than mine, and rather pitied me."

LEISURE-CLASS ROLE OF WESTERN WOMEN

If there is a leisure class in the West, it is the idle wives of busy, successful men. It is they who look out for "tone," who hit up the pace, who see to it that in style of living and entertaining their set keeps always a lap or two ahead of those with purses a pennyweight lighter. It is the high function of these social arbiters to "draw the line," to make two barriers rise where one rose before, to cry, like the celebrants of the classic mysteries,

Procul o procul este, profani!

And in view of the stubborn democratic prejudices and the exasperated, uncowed common sense they have to contend with, who can say these ladies have not done wonders? To be sure, their men, under the crude notion that "society"

exists to help you meet people you like, smile at social discriminations turning on the number of one's servants or the horse-power of one's automobile. But gradually the snobbery of the home atmosphere gets into their system, and in a few years the lumber magnate or the oil capitalist with a pretty daughter will send the rising young merchant about his business with the hauteur of a Spanish hidalgo.

THE WEST AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

Strong in the old-American spirit, the Middle West scoffs at solving the social problem by preaching the "trusteeship of wealth" or exhorting Dives to regard himself as a "steward." Aware of what H. G. Wells calls "the secular extinction of opportunity," it is not to be reconciled to social stratification by any amount of "welfare work" in the mills or of "social work" in the tenements. It knows philanthropy is good, but it thinks that the linchpins of society ought to be *rights* and *the spirit of square dealing* rather than gifts and the spirit of kindness. Less advanced in accumulation than the East, it puts the welfare of people above the rights of property, and anxiously legis-

lates for conditions that will conserve the manhood of the workingman.

On the whole, the Western States have gone further than the Eastern States on behalf of labor. They are cutting down the working day for women and stopping night work. Illinois and Ohio have gone far in organizing factory inspection, and Wisconsin leads in creating an industrial commission empowered to make work places "safe" and "healthful." The most stringent laws for the protection of workmen in building construction are found in Nebraska, Indiana, and Oregon. The subject of minimum wage is being considered in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts, and Wisconsin is in the van in working out a policy for unemployment.

Still, this modest lead in labor legislation is no just measure of the Middle West's lead in democracy. There is in the East a non-democratic force behind such laws. Like the blood which secretes a thyro-iodine that regulates blood-presure, capitalism secretes a form of capital which reacts upon and regulates the industrial process. Bondholders are interested in the core of a business, stock-holders in its margins and fluctuations. Regulative laws may shrink

dividends, but the bondholder is sure of his interest. He does not lose if he follows his conscience in matters of child labor or industrial diseases. Now, in the East one finds a growing number of bondholders — widows and spinster daughters of rich men, heirs indifferent to money-making — who feel social compunction and interest themselves in social reform. In the Middle West, outside a few large cities, the people of means who are semi-detached from industry and care for social reform are very few. Hence, in the Middle West social legislation witnesses to the instinct of the plain people rather than to the initiative of the leisured.

CULTURE EAST AND WEST

Fifty years ago family intercourse, money-making, religion, and politics summed up the strong interests of life in the Middle West, while music, art, literature, and science were neglected. Outside a few university centers, easy popular standards of excellence prevailed, and there was little spur to high achievement in any line. If we note the birthplace of the first thousand of living American men of science, we find that 509 of them were born in the East, and only half

as many in the Middle West. Yet, in 1860, about the time these future scientists were coming into the world, the Middle West had six sevenths as many people as the East. The difference measures the former backwardness of the West in cultivated homes, educational opportunities, and stimulus to scientific pursuits. Again, of living Americans listed in "Who 's Who in America," the Middle West contributes 44 for every 100,000 inhabitants it had in 1860, while the East contributes 82, or nearly twice as many.

Since then the progress of the region has been so rapid that to-day it stands virtually abreast of the East in visible provision for the higher life. Comparison of the two regions in literacy, in public instruction, in state aid to schools, in library extension, in penal systems, in state care of defectives, in anti-tuberculosis activities, in city-park systems, and in the beauty of public buildings, shows little or no difference. The East is ahead in urban sanitation, the Grange movement and the woman's club movement, while the Middle West makes the better showing in city-planning, state parks, and the establishment of legislative reference libraries. In public

libraries there is a gap, narrowing, but not yet closed. The West has only two libraries where the East has three, owns less than half as many books, and reports only two thirds the number of book-borrowers. The fact that the libraries of the older region have eight times as much endowment throws some light on the difference.

Some years ago Mr. Howells made the startling suggestion that perhaps the literary capital of the moment was not New York or Boston, but Indianapolis. It is indeed, not easy to explain the Indiana group of imaginative writers, and one feels there is no telling when a spring of literature may open still farther west. On the other hand, when one marks the strength of their German element, one does not marvel that Cincinnati and Chicago support as good musical organizations as can be found in the United States.

Recently an Oxford fellow visited us for the first time, and in his letters to an architect friend in England he commented unfavorably upon the people of the Middle West. "What you say about those Americans is incredible," wrote back the Englishman. "If they care so little

for beauty, tell me why is it they are at present putting into their homes and public buildings some of the finest architecture of our time?"

Aside from two or three journals read by the élite, the newspapers of the East impress me as less quiet and sane than those of the Middle West. A Chicago news-stand is less suggestive of bedlam than one in New York or even in Boston. The saffron screamers of the middle-sized cities seem to cater to left-behinds, half-baked immigrants, and petty social climbers. In cities of like size in the Missouri Valley the newspapers obviously reflect the taste of a well-balanced and thinking people.

INTELLECTUAL FAULTS OF THE MIDDLE WEST

If not many peaks shoot up from this high plateau, it is because certain faults vitiate the intellectual strivings of Westerners. Not long ago the Oxford dons were induced to set down their opinion of the Rhodes scholars from America. In their confidential reports these picked college-bred Americans are described as "superficial and inaccurate," "singularly uneducated," "lacking in accuracy and the power of hard grind," "inclined to drift from one sub-

ject to another, resting content with a bird's-eye view," "dilettante," "restless, volatile, never-educated *gründlich.*" There is complaint of their "superficiality of training and diffuseness of interests," although some dons admit they are "above the average in industry and interest in their work." Now, these are, broadly speaking, American faults, but I think the East has got rid of them more than the Middle West. In the first grapple with nature, alertness and resourcefulness are the prime intellectual virtues. It is complex society, with its specialization and its demand for skill, that drives home the need of thorough training and careful preparation for one's work. The vocations are as differentiated in the West as in the East, but the slack standards of the recent pioneer past live on.

In the absence of small, well-defined areas and of little historic commonwealths, the spatial imagination is quickened in the inhabitants of this great Mississippi Valley. Nature sets no limits, and no community sees reason for imposing limits of its own making. Hence arises a passion for magnitude. The Westerner thinks of growth in terms of size, and his taste for leaping totals is insatiable. Glibly from his

tongue roll figures of crop values, output of factories, tonnage totals, trade volume, bank clearings, height of sky-scrapers, miles of asphalt, acres of parks, enrolment of pupils, and membership in churches.

This, too, is an American fault, to care more for growth in quantity than for refinement in quality; but I fancy one has to hunt longer west of Pittsburg than east of it for that reflective Remnant who wonder if the staggering crop total stands for soil-robbing, if the "phenomenal" factory output represents "speeding up," if the swelling rail tonnage reflects headlong deforestation — the discerning few who care more for deepening popular thought than for expanding library circulation, for improving teaching than for regimenting more children in the schools, for inspiring a feeling for art than for acquiring canvases, for spiritualizing lives than for gaining communicants.

THE EXODUS OF THE GREEKS

There is a marked gravitation of Middle-Western ability toward our European frontage, where the talents find inspiration, appreciation, and a market for their wares. A Western

city has its distinguished public men,— judges, bishops, lawyers, educators, and engineers,— but the Eastern city is the Mecca for inventors, chemists, artists, sculptors, illustrators, musicians, and authors. Out of forty-seven residents of Springfield, Massachusetts, whose names are in "Who's Who," twelve are authors and artists; out of forty-nine such in Omaha, only three are writers. East Orange with fifty-three names boasts ten authors; Kansas City with forty-five names has none. If the pages of that directory are representative, much of the cream of the American intellect gathers in southern New England and in the vicinity of New York. Boston and St. Louis are matched in size; but the former has 870 names in "Who's Who," the latter only 225. Chicago has forty-one per cent. more people than Philadelphia, but only nineteen per cent. more citizens of eminence. Hartford, a third the size of Minneapolis, has six-sevenths as many residents of note. Worcester, with fewer people than Toledo, has two and one-third times as many citizens one hears about. New York has ten times the population of Detroit, but it holds thirty times as many persons of prominence. Kansas City, twice as big as

Cambridge, has a fourth as many names on the roll of fame. To be sure, Bridgeport and Newark and Buffalo come off badly in comparison with Denver and Cincinnati, but the fact remains that out of twelve thousand persons of note dwelling between the North Atlantic and the Rockies, the East is the home of seventy per cent., whereas its proportionate share should be only forty-six per cent.

It is not surprising, then, that in the Middle West persons of literary or intellectual note are much oftener of university connection than in the East. The presence or absence of a university makes a bigger difference than in the older region, where more writers and thinkers are supported by inherited means or by the literary market than by a professor's salary.

Besides the emigration of people of talent, there is a continual drifting away of persons who might help form the taste of their community. The Middle West is a far richer area than the East. From the eastern edge of Ohio travel due west to North Platte, Nebraska,— more than twelve hundred miles,— and never at one time will you have under your eye two square miles of poor land. Clearly, this well-dowered region

is to be the seat of numbers, comfort, wealth, and power. But it is singularly uniform, and, though pleasing, is lacking in physical charm and striking scenery. The tendency of the Middle Westerners who can live where they please to seek mountain or sea is already pronounced, and will become stronger. The segregation process which is making central England industrial and southern England residential will show itself here. People of the interior who do not remove to genial Flordia or picturesque California will seek the pleasure cities of the seaboard, the cultivated suburbs near the big centers, or the lovely spots amid the hills, lakes, and valleys of the Appalachians.

WILL THE MIDDLE WEST BECOME LIKE THE EAST?

Since the East in its colonial period had many "Western" characteristics, since the Middle West itself presents a smooth gradation,— for the traits of Kansas to-day were the traits of Ohio in 1850,— some predict that the Middle West is to take on in time the present characteristics of the East. I doubt it. Certain factors are at work that may long hold the two regions apart.

By its geographical position the Mississippi

Valley escapes the temptation to look constantly across the water and model itself on Old-World, especially English, patterns. Screened in a measure from the sapping seductiveness of foreign example, it seems destined to be the most "American" part of our country. Moreover, growth in wealth, prestige, and political power will lend it courage to break away from Eastern example and dare to be itself.

While from Western towns stream continually those who yield to the scenic, cultural, or social attractions of the East, there is a counterbalancing flow from the older region of persons who covet the freedom and unconventionality of the West. This interchange of misfits retards the assimilation of the two to each other.

Finally, since the disappearance of the frontier, it is the East, not the West, that absorbs the bulk of our immigrants. The sinister phenomena that more and more crop up in the East from the presence of an enormous and growing number of raw aliens cannot but lower the prestige of the East in the rest of the country and lessen the willingness of other Americans to take it as a model.

Still, the nationalizing forces will not be idle.

No doubt the East will follow the Middle West in the assumption of higher education by the State, in the restoration of popular control over government, in the regulation of railroad and public-utility companies, in the extension of equal educational, industrial, and political opportunities to women. On the other hand, the Middle West will probably become more like the East in the strength of the investor element, in the consequent tenderness for vested rights, in aversion to the wildcat speculative spirit, in greater attention to family and lineage, in higher standards of technical excellence, and in the conforming of individual opinion to established or expert opinion.

THE END

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